PROCEEDINGS OF THE
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HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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Special Report from the President

RECENTLY a letter explaining the financial condition of the Society and outlining several steps that are being taken to reduce our annual deficits was sent to all contributing members. In order that our entire membership may be familiar with our plans, that letter is reprinted below.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

On many occasions during its career of one hundred and ten years, the New Jersey Historical Society, like all institutions, has faced grave moments of decision. It has faced alternative choices of action. To follow one course might bring enlarged opportunities for growth and service. To choose another course might result in retardation and even decay. Our Society is at the present time facing such a moment of decision, and the decision must in large part be made by its membership.

The choice, simply put, is whether New Jersey is to have an historical society worthy of the past historical richness and present wealth of the state or whether it is to permit interest in our immeasurably priceless heritage to decline to the level of apathy and indifference.

Over the past four years the Trustees and Staff of the Society have been engaged in an experiment. They have been testing whether there exists in New Jersey an appreciation of the types of services that a state historical society can offer. The results have been extremely gratifying, for they have convinced us that there is under way in this state a momentous revival of historical interest. For reasons that may be obvious, Americans today are more eager than ever before to look into the past for inspiration, understanding, cultural enrichment and for a reappraisal of basic values. Here in New Jersey, they look to our Society for leadership, for information and for encouragement. We want to be able to meet the opportunity for constructive Americanism that confronts us.

Obviously, a society such as ours, which receives no public funds, must rely on the support of men and women who believe in the importance of the needs that we are endeavoring to meet. We must appeal to those who feel a sense of responsibility for the preservation of American traditions and values. We must appeal to you.

For a great many years the society has been operating at a substantial deficit. Our annual income does not cover much more than one-half of our expenditures. It has been necessary to meet recurring deficits out of our unrestricted capital fund. Such a course cannot be followed indefinitely. We must either curtail our present modest program or seek additional revenue.

What would curtailment mean? If we were to bring our budget immediately into balance, we would have to reduce our present staff of six down to three employees, including a custodian. This would mean that the Society, in effect, would exist on a mere standby basis. It would mean going back to where we were twenty years ago. More serious, it would mean abandoning the role of leadership the Society has assumed in recent years, with a consequent adverse effect throughout the state.

We have decided to go to our members and to the people of New Jersey to enlist financial support for the continuance of our Society's program. A special committee is now at work soliciting annual pledges of $100 a year for five years. We anticipate that this effort will add $5,000 a year to our operating income. A second committee is seeking to raise a like amount annually by securing at least fifty Institutional, or corporate, members at yearly dues of $100.

As the third phase of this financial program, the Board of Trustees, after full deliberation, has voted to increase the dues of Contributing members to ten dollars a year. The five dollar dues, which were established some time before 1898, no longer represent the contribution they once did to the Society's operations. At present, they do little more than cover the cost of publishing and distributing our magazine. The Board believes that most of our members would want to feel that they were contributing to the support of our library and museum, our school and educational programs, our genealogical services, our reference activities, the various special exhibitions, film showings, lecture programs for members, the Annual New Jersey Historical Conferences, and other functions that the Society is engaged in. We trust sincerely that you will assist in assuming your part of the responsibility for the continued progress of the Society.

The Board has also created a new class of "Associate members" who will pay dues of five dollars a year and who will enjoy all of the privileges of membership except that of voting. Any present Contributing member who wishes to transfer to Associate membership may do so by signifying his intention on his next annual bill, for we do not wish to restrict the size of the Society's enrollment; rather we contemplate a steady expansion

of the numbers of those directly interested in the Society's activities. We value your interest and sincerely hope that it will continue in the years to come.

I am glad to be able to report that considerable progress is being made in achieving the goals that we have set for ourselves. The special committee on institutional memberships, under the chairmanship of Mr. Henry S. Puder, will undertake an intensive campaign beginning in September. The effort to secure annual unrestricted gifts of one hundred dollars is now under way, and I am pleased to acknowledge contributions from the following individuals, whose generosity is most warmly appreciated:*

Charles B. Bradley, Convent Station
Miss Elizabeth C. Carter, Newark
Hendon Chubb, West Orange
Franklin Conklin, Jr., Short Hills
Horace K. Corbin, West Orange
Robert G. Cowan, Newark
Percy W. Crane, Morristown
Hartley Dodge, Morristown
Wilson C. Ely, Newark
Mrs. Paul Moore, Convent
George E. Potter, Madison
Reeve Schley, New York
Frederick W. Thorne, Newark
Mrs. Wynant D. Vanderpool, Morristown
Rt. Rev. Benjamin M. Washburn, Orange
Mrs. Roger Young, Newark

The response to the action of the Board in increasing the dues of contributing members has been especially gratifying. It is clear that a considerable portion of the membership favors the increase.

Several members have written to me expressing their personal reactions to the problems facing the Society, and these letters are so interesting that portions of three of them are printed here. We hope that other members will write us their frank opinions and their suggestions as these individuals have done.

My Dear Dr. McCormick:

I was astonished to learn after I joined the Historical Society that it had no support from the state. I thought every state historical society had *some* state support and many very generous support.

My feeling has been, & the letter I have just received leads me to express it, that since our state is entirely behind the times in this matter that a committee from the Society should take the matter up very seri-

*These are names of all pledges to July 14, 1955, including single gifts.

ously with the proper state officials. Just because it was not *started* that way over a hundred years ago, is no reason for it to continue while younger states give so much—I know Wisconsin gives a lot, & Missouri gave $75,000 a year the last I knew.

You say, "A society such as ours, which receives no public funds, must rely on the support of men & women who believe," etc. I think the state should feel a sense of responsibility & show it. Even our Suffolk County little Society & Museum at Riverhead, L.I., gets $2,000 from the county.

For the good health of the *state* & the *society*, the state should take a share in the load, even if it means a new charter & laws of the Society.

Sincerely yours,
Mary H. Wells,
Upper Montclair, N.J.

Dear Mr. McCormick:

Your circular letter of the 23rd is at hand and I am in sympathy with what you say about the necessity of putting the Society on a better financial basis. I see no reason why New Jersey should not have, and support, a Historical Society at least in proportion to those of our adjoining states of New York and Pennsylvania.

I am perfectly willing to raise my annual dues to $10 and enclose the additional $5 herewith. Wish I could do more, but perhaps I can make it up by securing for you some new members, or perhaps an institutional member. I will certainly make the effort.

With all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,
Walter N. Eastburn,
East Orange, N.J.

Dear Dr. McCormick,

Reference is here made to your letter of the 23rd to members of the Society. I think the plan outlined is good. I am taking the liberty to make some suggestions.

1. I was a superintendent in New Jersey for a quarter of a century. On the whole, schools and school people know very little about the services available from the Society. I suggest the appointment of a special education committee with some school people and board of education people as members. In Vermont many individual schools, public and private, and public libraries are members, boards of education in some instances have memberships.

2. An attempt to have public libraries become members.

3. An attempt to obtain financial support, maybe endowments from industry.

4. The Vermont Historical Society, of which I am a member, has very many "gift memberships"—birthday, Christmas, etc., and just gifts.

Sincerely,

W. C. McGinnis,
Perth Amboy, N.J.

To all those who are coming forward to aid the Society at this critical time, may I express the appreciation of the Board of Trustees and myself. We firmly believe that New Jersey should have an active and substantial historical society. With your help and with the additional support of others whom you can interest in our program, we shall strive to meet our obligations to the past and to posterity.

Richard P. McCormick, *President.*

Urbanism and Early Growing Pains in the Newark Public School System

S. H. POPPER

"Item—the Town's Men have Liberty to see if they can find a competent number of Scholars, and accommodations for a School Master within this town."[1]

THIS entry of November 21, 1676, in the official journal of the town marks the earliest recorded expression in Newark of a public concern for the education of the young. In the years that followed, the development of educational facilities was to become, almost more than any other urban experience, as a sensitive barometer reflecting changing social and economic conditions in the community.

As late as 1813, Newark had no publicly supported system of free education; although shoe-manufacturer Moses Combs of Newark had earlier expressed a need for making available free education for his apprentices, contending that a certain amount of academic training would improve the effectiveness of his working force.[2] This year, however, saw a significant development in the unfolding of free education in the town. In 1813 came the passage of the following resolution at the annual town meeting: "Resolved, that five hundred dollars be raised for the schooling of poor children, to be placed in the hands of the Town Committee for said purpose."[3]

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[1] *Records of the Town of Newark, New Jersey; from . . . 1666 to 1836* (Newark 1864), p. 65.

[2] Frank J. Urquhart, *A History of the City of Newark* (New York, 1913), I, 518; David Lawrence Pierson, *Narratives of Newark . . . from the Days of Its Founding* (Newark, 1917), p. 228. By 1806 the shoe industry was of such importance in Newark that town maps were emblematized by a shoemaker working at his bench. See shoemaker map at Newark Free Public Library.

[3] *Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Newark*, 1855, p. 5. Hereafter cited as Superintendent of Public Schools, *Report*.

A further impetus to free public education came in 1829, when the state of New Jersey formally acknowledged its responsibility for the education of the young by granting for the first time a subsidy to the free schools of its political subdivisions.[4]

Still more germane to the narrative is the year 1850. Although public supported education was entirely free before 1850, it was generally understood that it was intended for the poor. The free school was interchangeably called the Free School, the Charity School, or the Poor School. This stigma disappeared from public education when the state legislature in 1850 reaffirmed its support of free public schools with an order that state aid for education be made available for all children.[5]

Newark's modern public school system began with the establishment of a Board of Education in 1851, with Stephen Congar as its first superintendent of schools. By 1854, Congar's stewardship comprised a complex of fourteen district schools, one primary school, and a school for Negro children. Segregation was made mandatory by Board of Education regulations.[6]

A number of improvements occurred between 1855 and 1870. To assure itself of teaching personnel, the Board of Education established in 1855 a Normal School for the training of teachers. The same year saw the introduction of graded schools, thereby increasing the number of public schools from sixteen to thirty. Reflecting the city's industrial growth, and in the spirit of Moses Combs, the Board opened in 1855 an evening school "for the instruction of minors, apprentices, and others who are unable to attend school during the day."[7] One writer claims that the second high school in the United States came into existence when Newark opened its first secondary school on January 7, 1855. Two years later, evening classes were opened solely for the education of the foreign-born, who in ever larger numbers

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[5]*Ibid.*; *Annual Report of the Board of Education of Newark, N.J.*, 1872, p. 3 (hereafter cited as Board of Education, *Report*).

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 3; Superintendent of Public Schools, *Report*, 1855, pp. 3, 16, 29; Frank J. Urquhart, *A Short History of the City of Newark* (Newark, 1916), p. 116.

[7]Superintendent of Public Schools, *Report*, 1855, pp. 3, 14, 16; Urquhart, *History of Newark*, II, 752. Noting this boon to Newark industries, one local newspaper observed, "The Public Evening Schools have been well attended, and have doubtless been a great benefit to many, particularly apprentices, who are prevented from attending school during the day." Newark *Daily Advertiser*, March 5, 1859.

were to settle in Newark and release fresh impulses for the expansion of free public school education in the community.[8]

In this early period such an impulse for expansion was most pronounced in the decades following 1870, when population growth and industrial expansion assumed dynamic proportions. The average annual cost of maintaining the city schools during the decade from 1860 to 1870 was $71,432. For 1870 alone, disbursements from the municipal treasury for school purposes came to $144,918, which represented about twenty per cent of all funds raised by taxes that year. But the expenditure was justified in the opinion of Newark's mayor because "the good reputation of Newark's public schools induces strangers to settle in Newark."[9]

Despite such a remarkable support from public funds, conditions in the city schools were far from satisfactory in the 1870's. The size of the average class in 1870 was fifty-eight enrolled pupils to a teacher, while some classes had as many as one hundred pupils.[10] More money was clearly needed for free public education; and if it were not forthcoming, the Board of Education put the Common Council on notice "that the people must put up with such schools as we can give."[11] The Common Council, however, continued a practice of reducing the Board's carefully prepared budget by several thousand dollars each year. An exasperated Board thereupon by-passed the Common Council and turned directly to the state legislature to provide legislation which would increase the tax yield for educational purposes.[12]

The legislature responded with a two-mills state tax on property valuations for support of public education. State funds thus helped somewhat to alleviate crowded school conditions in Newark. But, although school accommodations were expanded, they were still not adequate to the needs of a fast-growing population. "During the last year," reported the superintendent of schools in 1873, "increased accommodations . . . have been furnished and

[8]Urquhart, *Short History of Newark*, p. 16; Board of Education, *Report*, 1898, p. 61; Sarah Kussy, *The Story of Gustav and Bella Kussy of Newark, N.J.: a Family Chronicle* (mimeographed pamphlet), p. 13.

[9]*Annual Message of the Mayor*, 1870, pp. 12, 18, 19; *Annual Report of the Treasurer of the City of Newark*, 1870, pp. 28-30 (hereafter cited as City Treasurer, *Report*).

[10]Board of Education, *Report*, 1870, p. 3.

[11]*Ibid.*, pp. 4, 6, 7.

[12]*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 13; 1872, p. 20.

yet there are many children in some portions of our city that are excluded from the public schools for want of room."[13]

Apparently one of the most difficult administrative problems confronting school authorities in this early period sprang from the inability to arrive at accurate estimates of population growth. The city was growing faster after 1870 than ever before in its long history. Between 1880 and 1890 there was a population increase of 33.2 per cent; of 35.3 per cent between 1890 and 1900, and in the decade from 1900 to 1910, of as much as 41.2 per cent. For the same period public school enrollment increased by 36.1 per cent from 1880 to 1890; 32.2 per cent from 1890 to 1900, and 66.1 per cent from 1900 to 1910.[14]

Evidence that school facilities were not kept in line with the rapid increase of enrollment shows clearly in the periodic reports of the Board of Education. In the 1880's the average number of enrolled pupils to each primary school teacher was between 66.8 and 69.7, and it remained in the 60's until about 1897. In the grammar schools, classroom sizes jumped from forty-two pupils in 1890 to fifty-one in 1895. The high school, which had meager facilities for scarcely five hundred pupils, had to serve seven hundred pupils in 1895. In the face of such unhappy statistics, it is not at all surprising that in 1893 some 25.8 per cent of the city's enumerated school population was not attending any kind of school; in 1895 the situation was much the same, 24.7 per cent of the school population being uncared for.[15]

The storm of protests from parents, precipitated by crowded conditions and inadequate facilities, could no longer be ignored by 1895 either by school officials or Common Council. The Board of Education again assumed the initiative by requesting funds for new grade schools and an additional high school. When the Council refused to be hurried into making large appropriations for new schools, the Board concluded that for all time it must

[13]Quoted in *Annual Message of the Mayor,* 1873, p. 209; *ibid.,* 1872, p. 21.

[14]Board of Education, *Report,* 1910, p. 29. The Superintendent offered that raising the compulsory school age at the turn of the century from twelve to fourteen years, together with a more rigid enforcement of the compulsory school law, might have had a bearing in 1910 upon the variance between population increase and school enrollment. *Ibid.,* p. 30.

[15]*Ibid.,* 1886, p. 37; 1887, p. 34; 1888, p. 44; 1889, p. 56; 1890, pp. 52, 53, 54; 1891, p. 49; 1893, p. 28; 1894, p. 23; 1895, pp. 47, 63, 67, 68.

free itself from the financial control of the politically-minded municipal legislature, just as it had already freed itself from it administratively. Attention was directed to Chicago, where school authorities were authorized by the state to levy a real estate tax for school purposes. "The determination of the amount to be spent [for public schools]," argued Newark's superintendent of schools in 1898, "should . . . rest with the Board of Education, and not with any political body elected for other purposes."[16] Moreover, he contended, compulsory school laws "become an absurdity because of lack of school accommodations," and "the policy of building a little each year . . . has nothing to recommend it."[17]

Newark's public schools were at this time under the supervision of Superintendent of Schools Charles B. Gilbert. When he assumed office in 1896, he at once brought to the forefront with a fearless candor the sad realities then present in the city schools. In his report for 1897, he stated:

> The [Newark] schools have for some years past furnished very inadequate accommodations for the enrollment, so that good work has been hindered and many children injured physically and mentally by sadly over-crowded and unhygienic conditions prevailing in our schools . . . [18]

Gilbert's appointment at the end of the century to the superintendency marks a period in which extremely vital improvements occurred in Newark's school system. The period of his stewardship was a veritable watershed of progressive leadership. Apart from giving forthright and overt support to those demanding more funds for the public schools, and quite apart from providing admirable professional leadership to his board, he brought to his task the new educational philosophy of John Dewey. And because in Charles Gilbert were combined at their best the characteristics of the theoretician and the doer, a modernness enveloped public school education in Newark—a modern quality in educational methods, which was to give added rank to this growing metropolis among American cities.

The period commencing with Gilbert's appointment in 1897

[16] *Ibid.*, 1898, pp. 57, 49-50.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 47; 1898, p. 55.
[18] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 22.

to about the end of the first decade of the new century merits extended study, because during these years emerged the matrix which was to shape modern-day school developments in Newark in after years.

Among his first achievements, Superintendent Gilbert reduced the size of classes in the day schools from sixty to forty-eight, with a resultant increase of the teaching staff in 1898 from 773 to 861. To eliminate rented classrooms and half-day schools, new schools were built. So rapid, however, was the enrollment growth that upon completion of a building program in 1900 there was still a great lack of school accommodations.[19]

In the spirit of the fresh leadership, Newark's Board of Trade surveyed school administration in the nation's principal cities. The Board of Trade, active since 1868, now concerned itself with methods leading to effective and efficient school administration. It discovered that thirty-eight cities with a population of 100,000 and more had small boards of education. Why not then a smaller school board for Newark? A reduced board, reasoned the businessmen, would transact business more efficiently, and responsibility would more readily be fixed. Following prolonged public debate, the proposal was submitted to a referendum vote and it was approved. Accordingly, the existing thirty-member board was abolished in 1907 and a new board of nine members was appointed by the mayor.[20]

Meanwhile, in 1902, the state legislature had empowered municipalities to issue bonds for school improvement up to three per cent of local ratables.[21] But before any new school construction could be undertaken, the Board of Trade again intervened, insisting that modern thinking be employed in planning new school plants. The business community wanted to have competent architects employed and to see the formerly patchwork type of construction abandoned. Furthermore, legislation was sought which would make it mandatory that school sites to be acquired in the future should be not less than two hundred square feet,

[19]*Ibid.*, pp. 97-98; 1898, pp. 51-52; 1900, p. 27.

[20]Newark *Sunday Call*, February 3, 1901; *Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Newark, N.J.*, 1905, pp. 124-25; 1908, p. 20 (hereafter cited as Board of Trade, *Report*).

[21]W. Edgar Sackett, *Modern Battles of Trenton* (Trenton 1895, 1914), II, 169.

no less than two-thirds of which were to be reserved for playground purposes. "This will mean additional cost," explained the Board of Trade, "but the money will be well spent, and if we understand the wish of our citizens, it is good results they want and not patchwork."[22]

Altogether, such active interest in school progress among organized business and parental groups, joined by a school administration alert to fresh pedagogical theories, combined to give Newark at the turn of the twentieth century a school system that ranked among the foremost in the nation. By 1910 Newark stood in the first quartile among American cities in the ratio distribution of school budgets to population. It stood ahead of such cities as Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, Baltimore, Detroit, Milwaukee, and San Francisco.[23] Moreover, the city ranked second among the fourteen largest cities of the United States in the number of children actually enrolled in the public day schools in proportion to total population.[24]

Hand in hand with quantative expansion came qualitative improvement in the teaching staff and school curricula. There were 169 teachers employed by Newark's public schools in 1870; by 1910 there were 1,327 teachers. Throughout this early period a notable social characteristic of the municipal teaching corps was the overwhelming preponderance of female teachers. Of the 1,327 teachers employed in 1910, only 101 were males.[25] Low salaries accounted to a large extent for this condition. The Board of Education found it impossible in the 1870's to attract trained teachers to Newark for annual salaries ranging from $300 to $350. It therefore had to rush girls through high school and then appoint them to teach classes of seventy-five pupils.[26]

Handicapped by a low salary schedule, Newark fared second best in this early period in the competition with other cities for competent teachers. At the same time demoralization in the teaching staff had become dangerously acute by 1883; hence an

[22]Board of Trade, *Report*, 1905, p. 38.
[23]Harlan Updergraff, "Expenses of City School Systems," *Senate Document*, 62 Congress, 2 Session, no. 431, pp. 9, 11.
[24]Board of Education, *Report*, 1910, p. 8.
[25]*Ibid.*, 1870, pp. 12-13; 1910, p. 189.
[26]*Ibid.*, 1870, pp. 8, 23-24, 39.

up-rated salary schedule was established. But by 1894 school officials were again pleading for a higher salary scale, at the same time pointing up the need for more male instructors.[27]

The first concrete step taken to improve the quality of the teaching body was in 1897, when the appointment and promotion of teachers were made competitive. A Board of Examiners was established by the school board in 1900 to examine and license teachers. And in 1909, in the face of strong opposition from Newark's businessmen, as well as from Newark's Board of Education, a teacher's tenure law was passed by the state legislature.[28]

To obtain teachers who could meet the more rigid standards, salaries were raised several times between 1900 and 1910. Also, improved transit facilities between Newark and New York City "compelled [Newark] to follow very closely" the higher salary scales of New York—Newark's "nearest neighbor as well as . . . strongest competitor, when seeking for well qualified teachers."[29]

Newark's evolution from city to metropolis was attended by changes in the philosophy and purpose of public school instruction. The city's readiness to recognize the need for change attests to a forward-looking educational temper, which was to be productive of at least one innovation in American education.

An unmistakable clue to the educational philosophy current in Newark during the 1870's can be gleaned from the report of the school superintendent for 1874. "We are . . . ," he stated, "the legitimate feeders of the Board of Trade and all kindred institutions."[30] Major emphasis in public school education during the 1870's was placed on grade school instruction. Primary and grammar schools contained the largest portion of school enrollment, and corporal punishment "for willful insubordination" was prescribed therein by regulations of the school board.[31]

Until 1897, when Superintendent Gilbert was appointed to office, the curriculum of the grade school for the most part consisted of the following subjects: orthography, reading, language

[27]*Ibid.*, 1883, p. 23; 1884, pp. 46-47; 1890; p. 115; 1894, pp. 44-45.

[28]*Ibid.*, 1897, p. 23; 1901, p. 44; Sackett, II, 271; *Sunday Call*, February 16, 1908; *Acts of the One Hundred and Thirty-Third Legislature of the State of New Jersey*, p. 398.

[29]Board of Education, *Report*, 1910, p. 31.

[30]*Ibid.*, 1874, p. 55.

[31]*Ibid.*, 1895, p. 54; 1878, p. 163; Board of Trade, *Report*, 1911, p. 61.

lessons, writing, arithmetic, geography, drawing, and vocal music. In the upper primary grades, or the grammar schools, these were augmented with grammar, history, composition, and declamation.[32] "Language lessons" consisted of instruction in German, which was introduced in 1869 and expanded in the 1870's at the insistence of the German-speaking community "so that German children may continue to have communion with the rich German literature."[33]

Secondary education held a relatively minor position during the 1870's. The only high school in Newark at the time was considered as adequate by the school superintendent for providing advanced public school instruction, and, he predicted, it "may remain so for some time to come."[34] Until the late 1890's, when industrial subjects were added to the high school curriculum, a large majority of the high school students were females. Nearly all of the female graduates from the high school entered the normal school to prepare for teaching careers in the Newark schools.[35]

An innovation, forced upon Newark's public school system by the mounting pressures from urban growth during the 1880's, arose from the problem of "what . . . [to] do with the large number of children during the long summer vacation who cannot leave the city?"[36] The recommendation of the school superintendent that summer schools of six weeks duration be established was approved by the board; and in 1886, the city of Newark was the first municipality in the United States to open summer schools with public funds.[37] The summer schools at once caught the public fancy and they became a permanent feature of the school system. Numerous requests in 1891 from large cities for information about Newark's summer school program, suggest that the program was finding acceptance elsewhere as well.[38]

But the high point before the turn of the century in the process

[32]Board of Education, *Report,* 1885, p. 205; 1890, p. 225.
[33]*Daily Advertiser,* January 6, 1870; Newark *Sentinel of Freedom,* October 2, 1877.
[34]Board of Education, *Report,* 1878, p. 28.
[35]*Ibid.,* 1885, pp. 65, 71; 1878, p. 29; 1888, p. 57; 1891, pp. 71, 80.
[36]*Ibid.,* 1885, pp. 83-84; 1891, p. 84.
[37]*Ibid.,* 1894, p. 93; Urquhart, *Short History of Newark,* p. 116; Herbert Thowless, *Historical Sketch of the City of Newark, New Jersey* (Newark, 1902), p. 13.
[38]Board of Education, *Report,* 1887, p. 58; 1891, p. 84.

of adjusting educational concepts to the changing social and economic conditions in the Newark scene followed from the appointment of Charles B. Gilbert. Superintendent Gilbert made it his aim to remove at once from the school curriculum "artificiality in so far as possible, and to substitute reality." Moreover, continued the new superintendent, "It is intended that every exercise should have a real end, apparent to the child."[39] In making clear his educator's credo, Gilbert expressed the conviction that the metropolitan setting made its particular demands upon the schools, especially in the development of vocational training. He believed:

> Municipal authorities must do many things for the individual which in rural communities he does for himself, so in a very densely populated and highly civilized nation, the government . . . must do for the individual very many things which in a sparsely settled, underdeveloped country each does for himself . . . I have no doubt that in the near future we in the United States will be compelled to follow the example of Germany and England and establish schools, which in connection with a liberal culture, shall also furnish the technical training necessary . . . for gainful occupation.[40]

Other refinements in the educational reform movement following Gilbert's appointment included the establishment in 1897 of a kindergarten in the public schools. Its immediate popularity brought on an increase from twenty-three in 1897 to thirty-seven in 1898. By 1900, the kindergarten had been so extended that every primary school in the city had one. Also, as a result of many requests from parents' associations, of which the first was organized in 1895, the Board of Education in 1898 extended the summer school program to include summer playgrounds.[41]

The program of the evening schools, which had suffered serious neglect up to the time of Gilbert's appointment, were oriented more realistically to the changing ethnic composition of the community. By pointing up the increasing importance of the evening schools in this regard, Superintendent Gilbert persuaded his board in 1898 to allocate funds for a suitable supply of text books for them. Theretofore the evening schools had been using

[39] *Ibid.*, 1897, pp. 25-26.
[40] *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 35.
[41] *Ibid.*, 1897, pp. 23, 26; 1898, pp. 26, 43, 45; 1900, p. 36; 1905, p. 119.

texts cast off from the day schools. Cognizant of the great influx of foreign-born into Newark in the 1880's and '90s, and its relation to free education, Gilbert stated in 1897: "This is emphatically a city for evening schools. The adult population is so largely of foreign birth and ignorant of the English language that it is quite important that the city furnish facilities for their education."[42]

Thus, the turn of the century saw Newark's public school system feverishly racing to keep in step with changing social and economic patterns in the community. This was reflected in every area of public education. Fortunately for the expanding metropolis, municipal school authorities demonstrated at the time an enlightened educational perspective in dealing with challenges of the new times. They dared to experiment and they were quick to change where change was called for. In one public school, where all children were Italian and spoke very little English, the course of study was altered in 1900 and the principal stress was placed upon the teaching of English.[43] In a statement faithfully reflecting the progressive temper of the era, the school superintendent urged his board to build schools of especial excellence in the blighted neighborhoods where many foreign-born lived. It was his belief that:

> There is no other factor in our American political or social life that equals a good public school in democratizing, socializing and, in general, Americanizing our foreign population . . . I would have one of the best equipped schools in the whole city located here [in blighted immigrant districts] . . . Good schools cost money. Crime, poverty, ignorance and vice also cost money, both to punish and to prevent.[44]

School statistics of that period easily vindicate the superintendent's concern for the foreign-born. An investigation in 1908 by the United States Senate Immigration Commission revealed that 41.1 per cent of all the children enrolled in the public schools of Newark were of American-born fathers, while 58.9 per cent of the children were of foreign-born fathers. Jewish children, who represented 20.7 per cent of the total enrollment, constituted

[42] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 51; 1898, p. 42.
[43] *Sunday Call,* February 11, 1900.
[44] Board of Education, *Report,* 1905, pp. 57-58.

the largest single group; and of this group 11.9 per cent were of Russian parents. German children represented 14.6 per cent of the total, and Italian children represented 12.6 per cent. Irish children were for the most part enrolled in parochial schools, where they constituted 27 per cent of the total parochial school population. But here, too, children of native American fathers constituted 41.2 per cent of the total enrollment, while those of foreign-born fathers represented 58 per cent.[45]

The new importance which was attached to the public day schools at the turn of the century because of the foreign-born was also accorded to public evening schools, and much for the same reason. By 1903, Newark's evening schools had the sixth-highest enrollment of the twenty principal American cities.[46] The large number of foreign-born in the community had raised the evening schools, at one time the step-child of the public school system, to the stature of a vital social institution. The Board of Education announced in 1910 that "Only the best teachers are permitted to hold positions in these [evening] schools. No one whose record is unsatisfactory as a day school teacher is allowed to teach in the evening schools."[47]

Many classes in the evening schools were filled exclusively with foreign-born students whose chief purpose for attending was to master the English language. As in the day schools, Jewish students were the predominant group. In deference to the religious scruples of this group, the Board of Education instituted a plan whereby Wednesday evening was substituted for Friday evening classes "to better accommodate the Jewish pupils, who constitute a great majority."[48]

There were positive indications during the decade from 1900 to 1910, when the city of Newark stood at the threshold of a new era in its long history, that in the future greater concern would be shown for the physical and mental welfare of the pub-

[45] *U.S. Senate Document,* 61 Cong., 3 Sess., no. 749 (*Children of Immigrants*), IV, 189, 192, 210. Percentage figures given by this source for students attending parochial school of native American and foreign-born fathers does not equal one hundred per cent.

[46] Board of Education, *Report,* 1905, p. 107.

[47] *Ibid.,* 1910, p. 51.

[48] *Ibid.,* p. 49.

lic school population. For example, greater attention was now paid to individual differences in the mass education of young citizens. The role of the ungraded schools, of which Newark had two in 1905, and which since their establishment in the 1890's were intended only for recalcitrant children, was subjected to a re-evaluation. A wider application of the principles of educational psychology led school officials to believe behavior problems might be related to psychological factors. The Board of Education in 1909 decided, therefore, to erect special schools for backward and defective children in need of ungraded classes.[49]

The year 1910 saw the discontinuance of policemen as truant officers, and a corps of truant officers selected by competitive examination came into being. An experiment in 1908 opened special study classes in congested tenement districts to assist students, with the aid of a teacher, to do the studying that could not be done at home because of poor conditions. A trend toward a conservation of human resources in 1910 led school officials to open the first classes in Newark for the physically handicapped.[50]

Much of this concern for the conservation of human resources in the Newark public schools, together with the educational refinements that were introduced between 1897 and thereafter, undoubtedly reflects the pervasiveness of the Progressive Movement, which at the turn of the twentieth century was forcefully agitating life in America. Out of it came a fresh understanding of the relationship between public-supported mass education and life in a democratic society. New educational concepts emerged to replace outmoded shibboleths. Harvard offered the "enriched curriculum" with a greater and more meaningful social content, and which was defended in 1907 with commendable vigor by Newark's public school officials. The Russell Sage Foundation, incorporated in 1907 with an endowment of ten million dollars, turned its attention about 1910 to a study of "social and living conditions in the schools," thereby encouraging the prevailing progressive trend.[51]

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74, 76-77; *ibid.*, 1905, p. 144.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1910, pp. 53, 123, 135-36, 196; *Sunday Call*, September 11, 1910.

[51] *Newark: a Symposium Given before the Wednesday Club of Newark* (Newark, 1907), p. 17; Board of Education, *Report*, 1910, p. 111.

By keeping the public schools in harmony with the new thinking, Newark school officials were able to respond with a high degree of professional competence to the dynamics of accelerated urban growth. Thus the institution of the free public school can be regarded as having achieved maturity in Newark about 1910, simultaneously with the flowering of the community to the stature of a metropolis. The effectiveness with which Newark's public school system was serving its social milieu at the time is partly revealed by some school statistics for 1910. At that time, Newark stood fifth-highest among American cities in evening school enrollment, third-highest in the summer school enrollment, and third-highest in kindergarten enrollment. In the latter category Newark was surpassed only by Chicago, but was ahead of such large cities as Philadelphia and St. Louis.[52]

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

C. Chauncey Burr and The Old Guard

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

While the Civil War was being fought upon the battlefields, another encounter, less bloody but equally bitter, was being waged by newspapers and magazines. In the North, anti-slavery men and ardent Unionists applied the title "copperhead" to enemies of the Republican administration. The connotation was that opponents of the war policies were disloyal. Supporters of the war held that, like the stealthy copperhead snake of the prairies which lay in hiding waiting to deal his enemies a mortal wound, the northern opponents of the government were treacherous and not to be trusted.[1]

C. Chauncey Burr, who had adopted New Jersey as his home, was one who stood so indicted. A "specialist in extremism,"[2] Burr was founder, editor, and guiding genius from 1862 to 1869 of *The Old Guard,* a violently pro-Democratic magazine. As to his magazine, critics maintained that "as literature it is not to be considered, having no existence in that sense."[3]

Being branded a copperhead flattered Burr because he believed that copperheads, "the original, simon pure kind . . . are so called from the copper head of liberty on the old cent of the United States, which they have adapted as a fitting badge of their principles."[4] Burr was widely known as a speaker, author, and editor. While editing *The Old Guard* he lived in New Jersey,

The Writer received his A.B. (1950) and M.A. (1951) degrees at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and did graduate work in history at the University of North Carolina, 1951-54. Until his recent induction into the Army, he was completing his doctoral dissertation on "Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896."

[1]George Fort Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (New York, 1942), p. 192.

[2]Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War* (New York, 1942), p. 214.

[3]*The Nation,* II, 25 (January 4, 1866).

[4]C. Chauncey Burr, "Omnium," *The Old Guard,* I, 93 (April, 1863). Hereinafter Burr's name will be omitted from citation for articles. Other names will appear before the articles not written by Burr.

but had his office in New York City where the magazine was printed.[5]

In 1863 the *State Gazette,* a strong Republican newspaper at Trenton, printed an account of Burr's life before he came to New Jersey. He was reputed to have been a clergyman in the West, and was supposed to have written an abolitionist pamphlet in 1848, although such action was incongruous with his later activities. Burr was alleged to have deserted a wife and three children in Urbana, Illinois, and then, as a somewhat tainted Lochinvar, to have come out of the West in 1856. In the East Burr served as press agent for the celebrated international figure, Lola Montez, who gave a lecture tour in the United States. In New York Burr remarried, and in 1863 his first wife sued for divorce. The Trenton *State Gazette* continually referred to him as "ex-abolitionist, ex-preacher, ex-mesmerizer and ex-agent for a second rate danseuse."[6]

This sketch of Burr's career was inaccurate to some degree. Replying to the derisive use of the word "Reverend," he admitted that the preface was an affectation.[7] Yet he had an intimate knowledge of the Bible, and the pages of *The Old Guard* are filled with quotations from the Old and New Testaments and eloquent articles expounding the Biblical defense of slavery.

By 1845 Burr had served as co-editor with John Tanner of the *Gavel,* a monthly periodical which served as semi-official spokesman for the Odd Fellows of America. Thomas L. Harris replaced him as editor in 1846. In this year Burr wrote only one article for the magazine. His contribution evaluated the literary merits of a Napoleonic writer.[8] This brief tenure may possibly be explained by the emergence of a political thesis to which the magazine subscribed, that of vehement opposition to the Mexican War. However, the editor who replaced Burr gave up the job himself, and there was a constant shifting of editors.

For a brief time in 1855 Burr edited a magazine called *The*

[5]Basil Leo Lee, *Discontent in New York City, 1861-1865* (Washington, 1943), p. 97.

[6]Trenton *State Gazette,* October 5, 1863, quoted in Charles M. Knapp, *New Jersey Politics During the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Geneva, New York, 1924), p. 84.

[7]"Editor's Table," *The Old Guard,* IV, 318 (May, 1866).

[8]*The Gavel,* II, 20 (September, 1845).

Nation, a name soon to be adopted by a more permanent periodical, but the publication folded after its first issues.[9] The tour of Lola Montez proved a success, and after its termination Burr edited her lectures. Sensationally written, the book (1858) had a good sales record. In it Miss Montez proclaimed that Catholicism was the "scourge of modern civilization."[10]

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Burr immediately identified himself with the anti-administration forces in New Jersey. He soon became the most outspoken of all the copperheads. Burr allied himself with ex-Governor Rodman M. Price, Thomas Dunn English, poet and novelist, and Edward N. Fuller and William Wright, editor and owner respectively of the Newark *Journal.*[11] For a short time after the war began, Burr edited the *Bergen County Democrat,* a small weekly printed in Hackensack, with the financial and editorial aid of Eben Winton. The latter was equally as vindictive on the war question. In March, 1861, Burr sold his interest in the paper to Winton after an enraged mob took exception to the newspaper's policies.[12]

In New York the most extreme pro-Southern newspaper was the *Day Book* or *Caucasian,* edited by Van Evrie and Horton. Burr became a frequent contributor to its columns. Clubs were also organized to plan a unified protest against the war. Chief among these were the Anti-Abolition State Rights Association and the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge. Burr was often a featured speaker at meetings of these organizations.[13]

The Old Guard was started in 1862, and three issues were published in that year despite threats of suppression by the Postmaster-General. The threats somewhat restricted the scurrilous phraseology of the magazine, but the next year the restraint was lifted and Burr began to give free rein to his convictions. These convictions might well have emanated from a rabid Southerner of Charleston or Richmond.[14] Burr boasted that *The Old Guard* was the only magazine published which was devoted to a "fear-

[9]Lee, *Discontent in New York,* 97.

[10]C. Chauncey Burr, *Lectures of Lola Montez* (New York, 1858), p. 290.

[11]Knapp, *New Jersey Politics,* pp. 84-85.

[12]Charles F. Capaldo, "Bergen County's Copperhead," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* LIX (1951), 137-39.

[13]Lee, *Discontent in New York,* pp. 234-35.

[14]Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: the War Years,* IV (New York, 1947), 135.

less and uncompromising exposure of the monstrous crimes and frauds of the party in power."[15] It was to remain the only consistently anti-administration publication in the North during the war. Burr fully exercised his freedom of "criticising and censuring" the Lincoln administration.[16]

The magazine borrowed its name from an incident in the French Revolution when a patriot cried out, "Where is the Old Guard? If they come not all is lost!" *The Old Guard's* policy was primarily one of defense of the South and opposition to the administration. An engraved portrait of Governor Joel Parker of New Jersey graced an early issue. Similar treatment was given to Governor Horatio Seymour of New York, James A. Bayard of Delaware, Clement L. Vallandigham, and Fernando Wood in later issues. The magazine maintained that if Vallandigham was a traitor, "then every Democratic President from Jefferson to Jackson and Jackson to Buchanan was a traitor."[18] When Vallandigham's activities led to his arrent, Burr spoke to mass meetings in New Jersey protesting this action.[19]

The *Nation* chided the magazine for being so pro-Southern that its only reply to the moral and political evils of slavery was that "to meddle with it would cause the loss of southern custom."[20] Undoubtedly the tone of *The Old Guard* deserved this indictment, but an analysis of the monthly contents reflects conviction and sincerity that went beyond petty and acrimonious opposition.

Lincoln's call for the draft in March, 1863, was opposed violently. In proposing it Lincoln was called a "deluded and almost delirious fanatic." Conscription should never be used while the demands were voluntarily met.[21] *The Old Guard* reasoned that conscription exposed every citizen of each state to the whims of the President, and was a violation of the Constitution. More important, the action was "a fatal invasion of State sovereignty."[22]

[15]"Editor's Table," *The Old Guard,* I, 288 (n.d., 1863).
[16]"Military Coercion," *ibid.,* p. 73 (April, 1863).
[17]"The Old Guard and the Democracy," *ibid.,* p. 213 (August, 1863).
[18]"Clement L. Vallandigham," *ibid.,* p. 45 (February, 1863).
[19]Knapp, *New Jersey Politics,* pp. 97-98.
[20]*The Nation,* I, 614 (November 16, 1865).
[21]"Drafting versus Enlisting," *The Old Guard,* I, 64-67 (March, 1863).
[22]"The First Gun of State Sovereignty Fired in New Jersey," *ibid.,* II, 111 (April, 1864).

Burr carried this attack against the draft beyond the pages of his magazine, appearing before audiences all over New Jersey and New York to denounce the measure. In objecting to his efforts, the New York *Herald* commented, "If Mr. Burr is not careful he will raise a storm that will terminate in insurrection and bloody scenes." However there is no evidence as to the part Burr played (if any) in the New York draft riots.[23]

Distinctly political in tone and style, the magazine's contents in 1863 consisted of political articles with the last pages of each issue being devoted to a section entitled "Omnium." This was the editorial department. Comment on current issues and letters from readers were also featured. After 1863, "Omnium" was called "Editor's Table." In this section Burr took advantage of the physical, political, and mental liabilities of his opponents. Particularly was this true of Lincoln, of whom the magazine said, "We have great confidence in Mr. Lincoln as a good story-teller, an excellent joker, and a first class buffoon; but no confidence in him whatever as a military strategist." His emancipation proclamation was called a "bull against the comet not having the expected effect of arousing universal niggerdom 'to strike down rebellion with a single blow.' "[24] *The Old Guard* was never convinced that Lincoln did not have some Negro blood, and was absolutely positive that Vice-President Hamlin was of African descent.[25] Stanton was called "that weak dilution of the hypocritical tyrant Nero," and Owen Lovejoy was referred to as "the fat and spungy abolitionist from Illinois." Burr dedicated a poem to Lovejoy which reads:

> Beneath this stone good Owen Lovejoy lies,
> Little in everything except in size,
> What though his burly body fill this hole
> Yet through hell's key-hole crept his little soul.[26]

Burr wrote practically everything printed in the magazine, but he was at his satiric best when blasting opponents with scathing poems.

[23]New York *Herald*, July 11, 1863, as quoted in Lee, *Discontent in New York*, p. 97.
[24]"Omnium," *The Old Guard*, I, 47 (February, 1863).
[25]*Ibid.*
[26]*Ibid.*, p. 239 (September, 1863).

The Old Guard was in agreement with John C. Calhoun's position on sovereignty. Government was an intermediate power, charged simply with the exercise of the people's will, all of its powers were in the nature of a commission.[27] The supreme authority was the Constitution, and since slavery was recognized, guaranteed, and protected by the Constitution, these safeguards would remain in force if the South failed, and despite "whatsoever should become of the Confederacy."[28] Any man, whether his name was "Jeff or Abe," who disregarded the Constitution was disloyal.[29]

Burr shot his sharpest barbs at the abolitionists. His arguments defending slavery were based on history, the Bible, the Constitution, law, tradition, and finance. Historically, the Southern people had been at "the pinnacle of their glory at that precise period when the institution was most extended," thus ruling out the argument that slavery was injurious to the prosperity and progress of the country.[30]

Secession, said Burr, was not as bad as abolitionism. "The one lops off a piece of our territory, runs away with a certain number of our acres—the other crushes the life out of our national principle. The one mutilates the body, the other kills the soul."[31] Moreover, the South did not intend to commit a crime when it left the Union but, believing itself to be right, was fighting for the right of self government and liberty. In contrast, *The Old Guard* charged the North with fighting to subjugate the South and destroy its institutions.[32]

In an article entitled "Abolition Preachers versus Christ and the Apostles," Burr strongly denounced abolitionists as being enemies of the nation. He challenged abolitionist ministers to show passages in the Bible which pronounced slavery a sin. To prove his point Burr quoted scriptures in which servants were admonished to be obedient to their masters. He said if "Jesus Christ and his apostles were on earth now, they would be de-

[27] "State Sovereignty," *ibid.*, pp. 146-48 (July, 1863).
[28] "Rights That Are Older than the Constitution," *ibid.*, pp. 158-59.
[29] "Loyal versus Disloyal," *ibid.*, p. 152.
[30] "Letter to Reverend Henry Ward Beecher," *ibid.*, pp. 121-22 (June, 1863).
[31] "Remarks on French Declaration of Rights," *ibid.*, p. 32 (February, 1863).
[32] "The Right and the Wrong of Secession," *ibid.*, p. 55 (March, 1863).

nounced as traitors and sympathizers with rebellion."[33] Abolition was held to be the chief cause of the war, and since "a war *against* slavery is just as much of a rebellion as a war *for* slavery would be," abolition could never resolve the conflict.

Only if the nation were rid of abolition could the Union be reconstructed.[35] Those who made "saints of Old John Brown and his band of assassins"[36] formed the nucleus of a party which no Democrat could support. *The Old Guard* further argued that the war policy threatened the economic balance of the Union.[37] The South should remain in the Union because it furnished the biggest annual market for northern products.[38]

The situation called for a return to power by the Democrats. Burr contended that while he had not "failed to denounce *secession* as an unjust and unauthorized remedy" for the evils of slavery,[39] he still did not believe in fighting a war to conquer the South. The rebelling states should be brought back as citizens "still entitled to all the rights and equalities which the constitution and the laws extend to all."[40] *The Old Guard* wished to see the war end, and suggested a national convention constitutionally called in which would be represented all the states, for the purpose of settling all controversies. The national convention would give to the South whatever guarantees were necessary to protect its rights and institutions from the designs of the abolitionists.[41]

In support of its claim that the war should be ended, *The Old Guard* asserted that northern industry would be forced to pay the war debt.[42] The magazine recorded that discontent in the army was rampant, and declared that there was much mistrust between the army and official Washington. Lincoln was blamed for this because of his "tender concern for negroes, and . . . unnatural

[33] "Abolitionist Preachers versus Christ and the Apostles," *ibid.*, pp. 7-9 (January, 1863).
[34] "The Two-Headed Rebellion," *ibid.*, pp. 211-12 (August, 1863).
[35] "The Prophecy of Calhoun," *ibid.*, p. 21 (January, 1863).
[36] "What Abolition Has Done," *ibid.*, p. 263 (n.d.).
[37] "War Democrats—Their Crimes," *ibid.*, p. 201 (August, 1863).
[38] "The 'Irrepressible Conflict' versus Northern Labor," *ibid.*, p. 263 (n.d.)
[39] "Beecher Blasphemy and Negro Patriotism," *ibid.*, pp. 38-39 (February, 1863).
[40] "Democratic Policy," *ibid.*, p. 258 (n.d., 1863).
[41] "The Puritan War," *ibid.*, p. 62 (March, 1863).
[42] "The Cost of the War and Who Must Pay," *ibid.*, p. 6 (January, 1863).

indifference to the rights and dignity of white soldiers."[43] Burr contended that General George B. McClellan was removed from his command because he opposed abolition.[44] *The Old Guard* felt that the only tangible results of the war were the "two hundred thousand . . . widows" and the destruction of the Union.[45]

Lincoln's suspension of the habeas corpus was "government by conspiracy"[46] and a "monstrous claim of power."[47] Also, Lincoln's "ungrammatical, unstatesman-like, illegal, and historically absurd"[48] speeches did little to console the people. What the country needed was a Democratic President.[49]

In December of 1863, Van Evrie and Horton, publishers of the *Day Book,* took over the publication of *The Old Guard.* However Burr remained as editor, and the magazine renewed the attack against the war. Burr pleaded for the war's cessation because of the South's military might. Rebellion, indeed, had proved to be "like the Titan who, every time he was thrown to the earth, regained a new strength."[50]

Attempting to explain the cause for the conflict, *The Old Guard* brushed aside reason and patriotism as possible motivations. Instead, fondness for excitement, emotions and propaganda caused the war. The people did not know what they were fighting for; if they did, "certainly eight out of ten would sooner have joined an army to hang all the abolitionists than to free the negroes."[51]

Burr severely criticized Northern generals. He particularly stigmatized Generals Grant, Hunter, Pope, Hooker, Burnside, Sherman, and Butler for not only tolerating but also encouraging marauding and theft by their troops.[52] Butler was immortalized

[43]"Alarming Evidence of Demoralization in the Army," *ibid.,* p. 37 (February, 1863).

[44]"Causes of the Removal of Gen. McClellan," *ibid.,* p. 139 (June, 1863).

[45]"How We Are Revenging Sumpter," *ibid.,* p. 115 (May, 1863).

[46]"Government by Conspiracy," *ibid.,* pp. 125-27 (June, 1863).

[47]"The Habeous Corpus," *ibid.,* p. 128.

[48]"Jackson's Message against Nullification versus Lincoln's Messages," *ibid.,* p. 132.

[49]"Old Guard and Democracy," *ibid.,* p. 215 (August, 1863).

[50]"Editor's Table," *ibid.,* II, 115 (May, 1864).

[51]"The War—How It Began, and What Keeps It Up," *ibid.,* pp. 1-3 (January, 1864).

[52]"Uncivilization of the Lincoln War," *ibid.,* p. 171 (August, 1864).

with a long poem entitled "Ye Beast," the last verse of which reads:

> Yet though no laurel wreaths I round thee twine,
> I would not leave thee all devoid of hope,
> But give, to grace that stout bull-neck of thine,
> (What would become it most of all)—a rope![53]

As 1864 was an election year, *The Old Guard* devoted considerable space to the political campaign. The Democrats should attack the administration without fear or mercy.[54] Never doubting the renomination of Lincoln, the magazine assumed he had "no chance of re-election except by rotten borough and bayonets."[55]

Burr doubted that McClellan's experience qualified him to be the Democratic standard-bearer, but the chance that Lincoln might be elected was even more apalling. Lincoln's election, said he, would bring bankruptcy, reduce the white man to the status of the Negro, and bring about social immorality and vice.[56] The voter had to choose between two evils. Lincoln and McClellan differed only in the manner of conducting the war plus the fact that McClellan was a Christian and a gentleman. McClellan was preferred, and although no Democrat could accept him as the "true Messiah of Democracy," he would be welcome as his forerunner.[57]

The Old Guard evidently stirred up considerable animosity toward its editor as Burr estimated crowds up to five hundred "infuriated fanatics" followed him through the streets threatening vengeance.[58] He refused to be intimidated and promised to continue his policies and enlarge the magazine into a literary and family publication because there was not a "literary magazine in the country which a Democrat could consistently place in the hands of his family."[59]

Unrestrained outbursts by *The Old Guard* provoked *The Nation* later to comment that "the magazine contains nothing but

[53] W. T. Urghart (probably a fictitious name), "Ye Beast," *ibid.*, p. 159 (July, 1864).
[54] "Editor's Table," *ibid.*, p. 95 (April, 1864).
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] "What Will Come of Re-electing Lincoln," *ibid.*, pp. 193-99 (September, 1864).
[57] "McClellan and Lincoln," *ibid.*, p. 225 (October, 1864).
[58] "Editor's Table," *ibid.*, p. 281 (December, 1864).
[59] *Ibid.*

vulgar ribaldry concerning whatever is best and purest in our national life."[60] Burr remained unabashed, but the magazine did begin to carry fewer political articles in 1865. In January a serialized novel, *The Peer and the Printer* by Thomas Dunn English, was begun. The editorial policy remained one that advocated state rights. The editor contended that the act of federal union was intended to preserve and protect the sovereign states in their individuality and separateness.[61]

The Old Guard became so inflamed about the Thirteenth Amendment that, casting aside all pretense of theoretical innuendo, the act was declared to exceed in stupidity "all human jargon before heard in this world."[62] The implications of the amendment provoked an amusing and descriptive diatribe:

> If Mr. Lincoln were to declare that the war should go on until corn was grown on the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, and New England should supply the world with coffee, or issue his proclamation that the birds of America should change place with its fishes . . . any or all of these things would be no more impossible than 'abolition of slavery' and 'impartial freedom' for whites and negroes.[63]

After the amendment had been adopted, the magazine posed the perplexing question of what to do with the freed Negroes, and maintained that the abolitionists "have killed the goose that laid the golden egg of northern commerce."[64]

Burr expressed fear that even if the South capitulated, the Republican party might seek to stamp out slavery in South America, thus causing a war which might last for sixty years.[65] When the final surrender came the chagrined editor declared that the result "ought to cause, in the breast of every patriot . . . the most painful sadness."[66]

Burr's opinions toward the Negro question and state rights did not change. He toured New Jersey, and later other northern states, speaking on race origins and asserting that the Union was

[60] *The Nation,* II, 25 (January 4, 1866).
[61] "Have States, under Any Circumstances, Right to Withdraw from the Union," *The Old Guard,* III, 49-50 (February, 1865).
[62] "Editor's Table," *ibid.,* p. 143 (March, 1865).
[63] "Abolition of Slavery Forever Impossible," *ibid.,* p. 175 (April, 1865).
[64] "A Picture for the Capitalists of the United States," *ibid.,* p. 331 (July, 1865).
[65] "The Continent of America Threatened with War," *ibid.,* p. 173 (April, 1865).
[66] "The Republican a Disunion Party," *ibid.,* p. 272 (June, 1865).

established on a basis of white supremacy. Therefore the Lincoln administration was a "John Brown raid on the grandest scale; and it was nothing more."[67] Some of Burr's lectures were published and sold in pamphlet form.[68]

Sobered by Lincoln's assassination, *The Old Guard* remarked that the "smile of hope and peace on the face of the . . . country" had been wiped out. This period of remorse did not last, and two years later the magazine accused Lincoln of having waged a war violative of the laws of civilization.[69]

When Andrew Johnson was Vice-President, *The Old Guard* had dismissed him as a prominent liar. The abruptly-changed situation caused Burr to revamp his estimation. In agreeing with the President's plan of reconstruction, Burr believed that if Johnson restored the Union as it was he would be "re-elected by a more sweeping majority than Pierce received in 1852."[70]

The magazine's make-up shifted slightly in 1866. A book-review section was included as a regular department. In addition to light literature the magazine began reprinting narratives of war incidents, usually written by Southerners. Each issue contained a picture of a Southern general and a short account of his career. Of the January issue, the *Nation* commented, "It gives a steel-plate engraving of the likeness of General Robert E. Lee, a man who has endeared himself to the nation by doing more than any other to destroy it."[71] Burr retorted that "men like Gen. Robert E. Lee are patriots."[72]

The Old Guard supported President Johnson in his fight against the "friends and employees" of Congress. Should his impeachment prove successful it "would be the end of all the little there is left of the government formed by our fathers."[73]

Burr continued to plead for a plan of reconstruction that would bring the South back into the Union on a basis of state sov-

[67]"History of Old John Brown," *ibid.*, p. 324 (July, 1865).

[68]Advertisement in the back of J. H. Van Evrie, *White Supremacy and Negro Subordination* (New York, 1868), p. 62.

[69]"Abraham Lincoln's Place in History," *The Old Guard,* V, 216 (March, 1867).

[70]"The President and the State Annihilators," *ibid.,* III, 473 (October, 1865).

[71]*The Nation,* II, 25 (January 4, 1866).

[72]"General Robert E. Lee," *The Old Guard,* IV, 58 (January, 1866).

[73]"Demogogueism as an Element of Government," *ibid.,* pp. 649-50 (November, 1866).

ereignty and equality. He chided the North about having conquered the South, because "it is in the power of a jackass to kick out the brains of a philosopher."[74]

Throughout the year, *The Old Guard* maintained an uncompromising position concerning the validity of secession morally and constitutionally. These attitudes brought down a storm of opposition upon Burr's head. He noted:

> We have many times been threatened with death, with being thrown out of the cars when going at full speed, with being thrown from the ferry-boat in the middle of the river, with being hanged to the lamp-post, and we know not what other violence . . . [75]

The issues of 1867 contained many battle stories and the novel *Joscelyn* by William Gilmore Simms. Most of the material published in the magazine, however, was written by Burr; there were a few contributors, especially in the field of poetry.

Burr attributed much of the radical success to the vacillating and irresolute Democrats in Congress, but the Republicans continued to bear the brunt of his attack. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, said he, destroyed liberty by contributing to a "rule of despotism."[76]

Even Johnson was not pro-Southern enough for the magazine. Despite his numerous vetoes, Johnson merely showed that he "talks like a hero, and runs like a hound."[77] *The Old Guard* wanted Johnson to "call upon the army and navy to protect and defend the Constitution, as his oath of office requires!"[78]

In 1867 the magazine contained many speculative articles concerning the presidential candidates. Grant, a man "most slavishly addicted to rum and tobacco,"[79] was lampooned mercilessly. Sherman and McClellan were considered as possible Democratic nominees, but *The Old Guard* thought Thomas H. Seymour was the best man for the job.[80]

[74] "Editor's Table," *ibid.*, p. 575 (September, 1866).
[75] "The Doctrine of the Old Guard Endorsed by Leading Republicans," *ibid.*, pp. 286-87 (July, 1866).
[76] "The Right of Suffrage, and the Condition of the South," *ibid.*, V, 530 (July, 1867).
[77] "The President's Failure and the Republic's Only Hope," *ibid.*, p. 775 (October, 1867).
[78] "Editor's Table," *ibid.*, p. 779.
[79] "Votes or Bayonets—Which," *ibid.*, p. 802 (November, 1867).
[80] *Ibid.*

New Jersey admirers of Burr were probably fewer than his southern readers. A man from North Carolina wrote, "Come and see us. You will find the latch-string on the outside, a hearty welcome within, and bacon and greens in abundance."[81]

The Old Guard was unrivaled for vituperative humor. Its comment on the purchase of Alaska is typical of such humor: "The sad remains of the 'late lamented Lincoln administration' has bought of Russia about fifty thousand Esquimaux and an indefinite quantity of the polar ice, to which they are indigenous."[82]

Throughout 1868, *The Old Guard* deplored the lack of political leadership in the country. Regarding Grant's decision not to make a speech at his inauguration in 1869, the magazine commented, "what a ridiculous sight it would be to see a man reading an address, when everybody knows he is incapable of writing one."[83]

In 1869 *The Old Guard* became distinctly less political. William Gilmore Simms' *The Cub of the Panther* was serialized. A new department titled "Down among Dead Men" was added. It consisted of amusing anecdotes about Sam Houston, Richard M. Johnson, and other public figures.

Burr sold *The Old Guard* to Van Evrie and Horton in 1869, and Thomas Dunn English, who had been a frequent contributor to earlier issues, became editor in 1870. Burr bowed out defiant to the end. He asserted, "absolute rights are as incorruptible in defeat as in victory. They live eternally, waiting for the first moment to reassert their immortal power."[84]

Burr continued to write for the magazine in 1870, but it was obvious that without him to guide the editorials, the life of the magazine was gone. English dropped "Editor's Table," adding in its stead "The M'Doodle Club." This was supposed to be a witty commentary on topics of the day but was prominent for its lack of brilliance. *The Old Guard* was unsuccessful under the editorship of English, and the magazine ceased publication at the end of the year.

Though Burr's efforts had been unsuccessful, he expressed a

[81] "Editor's Table," *ibid.*, p. 400 (May, 1867).
[82] "Sliding into Monarchism," *ibid.*, VII, 1-10 (January, 1869).
[83] "Editor's Table," *ibid.*, p. 160 (February, 1869).
[84] "The 'Conservative' Southern Victories, *ibid.*, p. 960 (December, 1869).

viewpoint that had considerable support throughout New Jersey, and the opinions of the journal were widely read.[85] Burr's past adventures partially nullified the influence his writings might otherwise have had.[86] *The Old Guard* was clearly a sincere presentation of opposition, sometimes blatant and unreasoned, sometimes with justifiable provocation. Burr's constitutional arguments defending slavery were plausible. The questions he raised concerning the status of the freed Negroes proved tragically prophetic. In his way Burr was equally as opinionated as the most dedicated abolitionist. Iconoclastic, verbose, Burr was practically a northern William Lowndes Yancey. He is perhaps the best example of extreme opposition to the Civil War. If *The Old Guard* was but a voice crying out in the wilderness, at least the sound was loud and clear.

[85]Frank L. Mott, *History of American Magazines,* III (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), 540.
[86]Knapp, *New Jersey Politics,* p. 85.

Patterned Brickwork in Southern New Jersey

PAUL LOVE

In 1684, William Leybourne published a book in England in which he said that "the first and best sort" of bricks "are those which in burning lie next to the fire in the keele, which, if they have much salt-peter in them, they will run and be as it were glazed all over."[1] As late as 1936, it was still possible for a writer to state that "it is not a far cry to glazing the brick when the glass workers are next to the brick yard, for the blowing of a salt glaze on the clay colors and finishes off the brick."[2]

Inasmuch as the uses of this kind of brick are what concern us, it is well to define it. A *vitrified header*[3] is the term we shall use for what is sometimes incorrectly called glazed brick. "Glazing" generally means the overlaying of a surface with a transparent substance, as in pottery. Its occurrence in the vitrified header is not caused by a later addition but is inherent in the material of the brick itself and is the result of overburning. Not mentioned by Leybourne is the fact that this vitrification alters the color of the brick. The excessive burning of a red brick will change its color to a neutralized blue or a deep bluish grey. Usually this brick is vitrified only on one end, and that end is shrunk and becomes smaller in its dimensions than the unvitrified end.[4]

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[1]William Leybourne, *The Builders Guide* (1684), II, 129.

[2]Turner, "Three New Jersey Houses," in *Highlight* (Dec., 1936), unpaged.

[3]"Header" is the term for a brick (or stone) laid with its end toward the face of the wall.—EDITOR.

[4]Although in all cases considerably darker than the plain red brick, the vitrified header reflects light and, within its ground, appears lighter to the naked eye. The rendering of patterned brickwork in black against a white ground, as in the scale drawings of the Historic American Buildings Survey in the Library of Congress, is false. To reverse the actual effect in a scale drawing is to give an opposite impression and to suggest qualities of unbalance, heaviness, or sparseness that do not exist.

The production of a *design* by vitrified headers is called patterned brickwork. This term may be applied to a bond in which vitrified headers are substituted for plain headers; to an all-over design which is called a diaper; to a single small unit such as a diamond placed at the top of the gable; and to the rendering of dates, initials and other design. Patterned brickwork is found along the eastern seaboard of the United States from New York to North Carolina, with one isolated example in Louisiana. The greatest concentration is in Salem and Burlington counties in southern New Jersey. Of known examples, there are at least three in Connecticut, at least four in New York, four in Pennsylvania, at least one hundred and eight in southern New Jersey and one in northern New Jersey, at least six in Delaware, thirty-one in Maryland, fifteen in Virginia, eleven in North Carolina, one in Kentucky, and one in Louisiana.

In these totals are not included the many examples of the commonest form of patterned brickwork used alone, the Flemish *checker,* in which there is an alternation of header and stretcher in each course, the header being a vitrified brick and the stretcher a plain one.

The next-commonest form of diaper is the *diamond pattern,* which is an all-over decoration composed of diamond-forms, large or small, which touch each other at all points within the field. Where diamond-forms occur in combinations that do not constitute a pure diaper, they will be described separately. Examples of these are: (*a*) a single horizontal string of diamonds that touch each other at the sides; (*b*) a single vertical string of diamonds that touch each other at top and bottom; and (*c*) an isolated diamond, either open or solid.

A less common form of diaper is the *vertical zigzag,* found in groups of three or more, with each pair separated by one or two plain stretchers.

Any diaper may combine with date and initials, but it is extremely unusual for it to combine with any other design. The vitrified header may also be used in a form that does not constitute a pure diaper. Three such uses of the diamond have been mentioned above. There is also the *pediment-outline*: the use of a row of vitrified headers paralleling the raking cornices and

usually separated from them by the length of a plain stretcher. The term *banding* will be used in reference to single lines of vitrified headers as they occur in walls built in American bond. Other designs which fit none of these classifications will be designated as they occur.

Patterned brickwork in some form was used in all of the early colonies along the eastern seaboard except those in the extreme north and the extreme south. Many nationalities were represented, including the Dutch, the Swedes, the English, and the French. It becomes necessary to examine briefly the architecture of these countries in order to determine the sources of designs and influences.

Nathaniel Lloyd remarks that "the art of producing patterns on wall surfaces by the use of bricks (generally headers) of distinctive colour seems to have been introduced from France during the fifteenth century. An early instance is at Herstmonceaux Castle, but only here and there is tentative fashion. The Bishop's palace, Hatfield, has a variety of interesting patterns, and is the forerunner of the fuller development of such work" in England "in the sixteenth century."[5]

The diamond diaper was widely used in France, as it was later in England. A well-known example is the Louis XII wing of the Chateau at Blois. At the Chateau d'Auffay in Normandy, banding was widely and riotously used. It would appear, therefore, that French influences moved across to England and were thence transmitted to the American colonies. No direct transmission from France to the American colonies can be found. It should be remembered that patterned brickwork was in full stride in England in the sixteenth century for major buildings and in the seventeenth century for minor buildings; that it was common knowledge of the builder and bricklayer in England; and that the majority of buildings using it in America were built by the English.

Many of the designs appeared in variation in the English colonies in America, but they were not confined to the English colonies. In New York, Delaware, and southern New Jersey, originally settled by the Dutch and the Swedes, Flemish checker

[5]Nathaniel Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork*, p. 68.

was well known in the late seventeenth century. In New York and along the Hudson River valley, there are also examples of diamond diapers, dates, and initials. This would lead one to suspect that some form of patterned brickwork must have been common in Holland in the seventeenth century. We have been unable to find many illustrations of this, but enough to make the suspicion a fact.

There was a comparatively large colony of Swedes already located in the neighborhood of Salem before 1675. Here we have no evidence whatsoever of brick architecture which might have influenced the English colonists. It is nevertheless of interest to discover that patterned brickwork was also known and used in Sweden during this same period.

It is apparent that we are dealing with a type of brickwork which was fairly widely distributed throughout the northern part of Europe during the seventeenth century. It thus becomes theoretically possible for any of these nationalities to have transplanted it to America, or, for that matter, for all of them to have done so. Actually, it is heavily concentrated in the English settlements and, in most examples, we can safely assume an influence directly from England. This statement holds true mainly for the seventeenth century. After that time, the influences came generally from within the colonies themselves.

It would be impossible to say with any certainty which colony first made use of the vitrified header for decorative purposes in the simplest of all patterns, the Flemish checker. There is reason to believe that it was the earliest pattern used in America. Other patterns quickly followed; here also it is impossible for any state to lay first claim. The Bradway-Hall house, 1691, Salem, is one of the earliest extant examples using a combination of checker and other design. It is a two-and-a-half-story brick house with a gambrel roof, constructed as an inn at the wharf landing by William Hall. The gable-ends give evidence that it originally possessed a central chimney, rare in any of the colonies below New England. The east gable appears to bear the date, 1691. Although the numerals correspond with others used between 1720 and 1725, careful scrutiny has revealed the fact that mortar joints occur in the numerals at peculiar spots. It has been sug-

gested by the present owners that the numerals had been originally applied in wrought iron and their position later indicated in paint. This would accord with applied dates in the Vechte-Cortelyou house, South Brooklyn, and the Old Tile House, New Castle, both in the same period.

Paint and the close proximity of tenement houses are impediments to vision in the Bradway-Hall house. However, on the second-story area of the west gable, framed top and bottom by a string of two courses, enough headers running in a consecutive line can be observed through the paint to justify the belief that a design is there. The examination of a photograph of this area revealed a section of an all-over diamond pattern. The design is placed on either side of the central window; each unit is three diamonds wide and two diamonds high, or eight diamonds for the whole field including the two diamonds formed by the contact of the two rows. The stringcourse and the entire facade, except for the cellar projection, use Flemish checker. Whether the checker is continued on the gable-end strings is impossible to discover at present. It is not used on the wall areas on the gable-ends.

We shall at this point briefly mention the customary uses of Flemish checker. Flemish bond was at one time considered to be characteristic of the Georgian period. However, it appears as well throughout the second half of the seventeenth century in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. Since the substitution of vitrified for plain headers did not attain wide currency in England until the eighteenth century, it may be said to have developed simultaneously in America and England. The checker has been found to appear on the facade alone, on the facade and rear together, on one gable-end alone, and on all four walls of the house. When the cellar foundation is thicker than the first story wall and projects from the wall surface, it usually begins at first story level and plain brick is used for the cellar. When the cellar is absent, as it often is until 1720, the checker begins at ground level.

Mention should also be made of the use of the vitrified header in such details as stringcourses and window- and doorheads. The checkered stringcourse is widely used in southern New Jersey as

a protective heading or water table for the pentroof; it may also be found in the heads of doors and windows on those walls which bear Flemish checker, and occasionally on plain walls.

Inasmuch as the groups of houses in Salem County and Burlington County are fairly widely separated one from the other, it will be easier to treat them separately. The dating of the house in vitrified headers did not occur in Salem County until the eighteenth century. Ushered in by the Joseph Darkin house in 1720, it became an expected decoration on almost all houses after that date and continued until 1792. (It is more than possible that it may have occurred at an earlier date. The design on the Darkin house was not known to exist until a fire destroyed its frame addition in the 1940's.) Examples can be cited also in a few of the Friends' meeting houses, as in the Salem Meeting House, 1772, and the Woodstown Meeting House, 1785. These two provide the only examples where the date is the sole decoration of the gable.

The date with other design, but without initials, also occurs only twice and early in the period, as the date alone was late. The examples are the Darkin house, 1720, and the Abel Nicholson house, 1722, both in Elsinboro Township below Salem. Both have a classical severity that characterizes many of the earlier examples before patterned brickwork moved to the exuberances of the Dickinson house, 1754, or the degeneration of the Mayhew house, 1792. The date in the Darkin house is set at the apex of the gable in an opening in the diamond diaper. The diaper is five diamonds wide, each diamond covering nineteen courses in height. As the design moves above the eaves level, the diamonds are somewhat distorted so that their upper outside diagonals will coincide with a pediment-outline which is not continued to the apex but instead dips into a V-form between the 7 and the 2.

Two years later Abel Nicholson attempted to correct such minor flaws. The date rests more freely in the open space in the diaper. The V-form at the apex of the Darkin house is here completed by the extension of the pediment-outline until the two lines meet, forming a diamond of fourteen courses. The remaining diamonds in the diaper cover nineteen courses, as they did

in the Darkin house. In the attempt to retain this height throughout, difficulties were encountered at eaves level, so that in one diamond on each side the pediment-outline does not coincide with the slope of the diamond but is removed from it by the distance of a stretcher. The Abel Nicholson house not only carried the checker on the facade and rear, but also on the remaining gable-end, where it is enframed by a pediment-outline. (Such a design was used in North Carolina in the White-Newbold house at approximately the same time.)

The diamond diaper, more than any other design used in the colonies, recalls England. It differs from English examples only in being sharp and precise instead of fading as it does in many English examples—and in two American examples of considerably later date, the Whitley house in Kentucky and Sweet Air in Maryland.

In most cases, the date is combined with initials to form a triangle with the initial of the surname at the top, the initials of the first names of husband and wife in the middle, and the date at the bottom. Date and initials combined with a diamond diaper are found in the John Maddox Denn house, 1725, in the vicinity of Hancock's Bridge. The triangular design fills the gable and thereby assists in solving the difficulties of the diamond diaper as it moved into the pediment in the above-mentioned houses. In the Denn house, the diaper is carried up only to the eaves level and no effort is made to connect it with the pediment-outline. The diaper is only three diamonds wide and uses a diamond twenty-three courses from point to point. This unit is larger than any known American or English examples.

These houses seem to have had no further imitators until 1746 when the Joseph Champneys house was built. However, the diamond diaper was used by itself on the "Padgett" house which will be discussed presently. The separation of the pediment or gable from the rest of the gable-end was implied in the termination of the diaper at the eaves in the Denn house. This separation is abruptly made in the Champneys house in the vicinity of Woodstown. The diaper is capped by a broad stringcourse at eaves level, thus isolating the gable with its date and initials. The stringcourse is unusual in two respects: it covers four courses

instead of two, and it accents its separating character by having the two inner courses in vitrified headers and the two outer courses in plain stretchers. The Champneys house uses a smaller diamond of eleven courses only, thus providing a finer network of lines. It is, incidentally, identical with that of the Whitley house in Kentucky, forty years later.

The only other example of diamond diaper in Salem County is the "Padgett" house, *c.*1735, in the vicinity of Harmersville in Lower Alloways Creek Township. This is one of two known examples of a pure diaper without other design; we will find parallels to it in Virginia. The diamond is here the smallest, being only nine courses high and agreeing with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples in Essex, England. The pattern is eleven diamonds wide and seventeen interlocking diamond-rows high. It stops abruptly at the junction of the two roof slopes of the gambrel roof, leaving a disturbing void in the remaining triangle of gable. Of all the designs, this appears the most to crowd the gable-end.

Date and initials are combined with one other diaper, the vertical zigzag, and once, as in the case of the diamond diaper, the vertical zigzag apears alone. The first example is the William Hancock house, large wing, 1734, in Hancock's Bridge. Except for the curved forms, the weak and leaning S, and the constricted 3, both letters and numerals show great firmness and are closer to printing than to script. Each zigzag is separated from the next by two plain stretchers. The zigzag alone is repeated on the east gable-end and carried up through the gable.

The second example is the Chambless house, 1730, also located in Lower Alloways Creek Township. It differs from the Hancock house in only two minor details: the slope of the roof, which is unusually low, and the slant of the first lower line of the zigzag, which moves toward the left instead of to the right. The vertical zigzag as a pure diaper appears to be restricted to Salem County.

The triangular composition of initials and date was, with one exception, to continue and to be combined with other less complex designs or used alone. The Worledge house, 1727, Salem, uses the date and only two initials in the pediment. It completes

the gable-end design with a horizontal zigzag commencing immediately above the cellar projection. As a single horizontal row of zigzag laid in English bond, it occurs only on this example in Salem County and only once elsewhere (the Fassitt house, Maryland). It never appears, either in America or England, as a diaper. In the Worledge house, the large area intervening between the horizontal zigzag and the date is saved from deadness by a sprinkling of vitrified headers.

A similar pattern placement using a different design occurs two years later in the Richard Smith house, 1729, in the outskirts of Salem. Here there is a single row of touching diamonds covering fifteen courses and set somewhat higher on the gable-end. The isolation of the gable is sharply stated by a two-course string in Flemish checker on a field of plain red brick. Unfortunately the gable field is not used to its best advantage. The date and initials are placed high, with all of the S and part of the RS intruding upon the chimney. There is also a pediment-outline following both slopes of the roof.

There are two other designs in Salem County, one of which is unique and the second of which is echoed in other Salem County examples and, at a considerably later date, in the Lastrapes house in Louisiana. The first of these is the Samuel Bassett house, 1757, in the vicinity of Woodstown. This house crowns its date and initials with a design that resembles a coronet. To accommodate it, the date and initials are placed on the second-story level, leaving the narrowed gable free for the development of the design. It is composed of interweaving curves rising from a horizontal base. No duplicate of it—or even echo of it—has been found either in America or England. Its handsomeness is somewhat marred by the unevenness of the design below it. For the first time in the houses that we have treated, the lower initials intrude upon the area occupied by the top initial. Centered below the coronet, but not below the B, is a vertical diamond string of three diamonds, the top and bottom ones solid, the center one open except for a plus-sign in the center. This string is undoubtedly derived from the Dickinson house, 1754. The solid diamond occurs in no examples before this.

One of the most important examples of this period, because of

its influence upon other houses, was the Dickinson house. It uses a design that is almost baroque in character and may be considered a swan-song in Salem County of the type of all-over decoration that was used in the Darkin, Abel Nicholson, Denn, "Padgett," and Champneys houses. Starting on first-story level, there is a series of vertical solid and sprouting diamonds that feed into an inverted V-shape midway in the second story level. These are enclosed in a horizontal line on each side, sprouting diamonds and rising to an inverted V in the center, from which sprout other diamonds on stems. In addition to being the first appearance of the solid diamond, it is also the first time that the date becomes larger than the initials.

In 1763, the Beetle house in Upper Penns Neck Township was to make an excerpt from this design and split the date with it. This house uses a variation of the sprouting diamonds, three stems terminating in small solid diamonds and rising from a diamond divided into four parts inside. The diamond unit, looking like flowers growing from a pot, covers twenty-one courses.

The quality of building had deteriorated in the ten years before the Revolutionary War. The bricklaying in the Beetle house is irregular. The Michael Richman house, 1764, in Upper Pittsgrove Township, shows somewhat the same slipshod quality. This house uses a vertical diamond string of three diamonds, the top one open and irregular in design, the middle one open, and the bottom one split into four parts inside. The numerals, split by the design, have neither the grace of the earlier script numerals nor the precision of the later printed ones. The top R is crowned by a solid diamond of five courses and flanked by solid diamonds of three courses. The lower letters also are flanked by solid diamonds of three courses. Both the initials and the diamonds are inexpertly copied from the Dickinson house. The underlining, two courses below the date, is dissolved into a series of irregular dots and dashes.

Eleven years later the Dickinson design was to be copied in its final form in Salem County in the Samuel Swing house, 1775, in the vicinity of Shirley. The design begins halfway up the second story with the date; it is topped at the center by a series of sprouting solid diamonds copying the flanking units of the first-story

area in the Dickinson house. The diamonds split the S and S of the lower initials and point toward the top S which is crowned by a solid diamond of three courses and flanked by solid diamonds of five courses. The design is squeezed into the center of the gable and, although much better constructed than either the Beetle or the Richman designs, it lacks their expansiveness. This is the only house in Salem County to use a white brick instead of the vitrified blue-grey brick.

Among other houses, the following might be noted. The Matthias Lamson house, 1741, Salem outskirts, uses only the pediment-outline with date and initials. The Joseph Ware house, 1758, Hancock's Bridge vicinity, has the date enframed by a pediment-outline which, at its apex, contains a small triangle or plaque of vitrified headers, slightly curved at the top. The plaque, frequently used, was usually a stucco piece with the date, or date and initials, either incised in it or raised in relief. Its purpose on the Ware house is difficult to determine, since the date is already given in vitrified headers.

The remaining examples of date and initials, used without other design than checker, will be treated after we have mentioned two examples of banding that occur. Banding is similar to checker in that it is the result of the bond: five courses of stretchers to one of headers, the headers in these two cases being vitrified. The two houses are the "Hill tenement," Woodstown vicinity, and the Cornelius Copner house, Lower Penns Neck. Neither of them can be accurately dated. The "Hill tenement," demolished about 1945, is across the road a short distance from the Aaron Hill house, 1746, and carries banding on the facade and the upper half of the north gable-end. The same bond is used on the east gable of the Copner house, which is further decorated on the west gable-end by a single solid diamond placed between the two attic windows. Banding in Europe was found more frequently in Holland than elsewhere, yet we can posit no Dutch influence in these two cases.

The remaining houses use the date and initials alone. These are the "Ceasbey" house, Quinton Township, 1735; the William Oakford house, Hancock's Bridge vicinity, 1736; the William Mecum house, Lower Penns Neck Township, 1737 (with an M

of three courses that is almost undecipherable); the Dunn (Pissant) house, Pilesgrove, 1743 (whose largeness of design and childlike character of numerals give it a charm that the scrawny Mecum house could never claim); the Aaron Hill house, Woodstown vicinity, 1746; the Samuel Nicholson house, Elsinboro Township, 1752; the "Daniel Smith" house, Quinton vicinity, 1752; the David Bassett house, Woodstown, 1755; the John Oakford house, Hancock's Bridge vicinity, 1764; and the Mayhew house, Upper Pittsgrove Township, 1792. One other, the Seven Stars Tavern (Peter Lauderback house), Sharpstown, 1762, deserves more special comment. In the earlier Samuel Nicholson house there had been an attempt to combine the gable design with the newly-introduced double attic windows. The Seven Stars Tavern is both the first and the last house in Salem County to come to a satisfactory solution. For the first time the date is moved from its regular position as the base of a triangle; it is lifted to the level of the top initial and split by that initial. The base is now composed of the two attic windows flanking the initials PE. The compactness and effectiveness of the design have been somewhat diminished in recent restorations. The brick extension on the patterned gable-end has been restored to its original state as a one-and-a-half-story building with pitched roof but the gable cornice has not been returned. For full effect, the design needs this horizontal base line. This house is unusual in having the date alone repeated in a stucco plaque on the opposi gable.

Although the house types were to be identical in the two main centers in Salem County, Salem (including Hancock's Bridge) and Woodstown, it is of interest to note that the placement of the design was to be different in each. Most of the houses in the vicinity of Salem begin the date line at or above the eaves line and thus make a sharp separation between the gable and the remainder of the gable-end. In the Woodstown vicinity, on the other hand, the designer is inclined to regard the whole gable-end as his field and does not adhere to the separation characteristic of Salem. Thus the Dunn, Dickinson, Samuel Bassett, and Richman houses spread the whole design so that the date line is in the second-story area. Furthermore, it is only in the vicinity of

Woodstown that we find the date punctured and invaded by other design.

There was one other settlement in the original Salem colonization, Greenwich, in Cumberland County to the south. Despite the proximity of the two towns, there are no examples of patterned brickwork in Cumberland County, with the exception of Flemish checker, until late in the eighteenth century, and none of these is in Greenwich itself. Three houses are found in the small town of Roadstown: the David Bowen house with initials and the date, 1770; the Ananias Sayre house, 1770; and the Daniel Bowen house also with the date only, 1775. Along the Delaware shore in the town of Sea Breeze, to the south of Greenwich, is the Joseph Sheppard house which bears the date, 1781, topped by a solid diamond on the chimney. A similar but smaller house, built for Uriah Loper, is situated near Seeley with the date, 1786. The only house in this county using a small decorative design similar to that of the Beetle house is supposed to be the Grover Lang house with initials and the date, 1788. Neither its exact location nor any further information concerning it is at present available.

Settled two years after Salem, Burlington grew so rapidly that it was made the capital of West Jersey in 1682. It seems strange, in view of this growth, that the majority of houses using patterned brickwork in Burlington County do not occur until after 1740.

We have seen, in our study of Salem County houses, that one house was prone to influence others. It might thus be suggested that the impetus for patterned brickwork came from a single bricklayer or family of bricklayers who had been experienced in this field in England. It would be difficult, in such case, to account for the gap between the 1691 Bradway-Hall house and the 1720 Darkin house. A second and more plausible explanation might be the presence or absence of patterned brickwork in the English counties from which the settlers came. Although some of the more important persons in the Salem colony were from Berkshire, where patterned brickwork was not used, the majority were from Middlesex where a variety of designs occurs, and at least one was from Surrey, where there is again a profusion of

design. It is known that the majority of the first settlers in Burlington were Yorkshiremen. Our researches have uncovered no examples of patterned brickwork in Yorkshire except Flemish checker. From this we might assume that the late outcropping of patterned brickwork in Burlington was due to the proximity and influence of Salem. There is great danger in coming to such a conclusion. We would be pretending that, after the first few shiploads of settlers, the colony remained static, whereas it was continually receiving emigrants from all parts of England. We would also be forgetting that, almost from the moment of settlement, there was a continual flow of persons back and forth from one settlement to another. It is still possible, however, to find some truth in the importance of the English counties from whence the colonists came in that the earliest settlers were granted the pick of the land and, in more cases than not, they and their families remained upon it. Possibly the Yorkshire background of the early Burlingtonians retarded the development of patterned brickwork in that area.

Although the architecture of Burlington County has never been seriously studied, the state of its eighteenth-century houses might suggest one other perfectly simple reason for the lack of patterned brickwork: very probably the majority of the early houses were of timber construction. The characteristic Salem house is a small earlier brick house and a large later brick house, both on the same axis, or a small brick house which could have had a larger brick addition that never got built. In Burlington, on the contrary, this type of house is practically non-existent. Instead, there is either the single large house or the large house with a later addition of the same size. By the time these houses were built, Burlington had settled upon a type, at least partially derived from Philadelphia, which seriously restricted the field for patterned brickwork. It was a house that was heavier and more solid than the Salem type, and often two rooms deep. In addition, it was to make much more extensive use of the pentroof. Salem County, until very late in its development, restricted the pentroof to facade and rear. Burlington employed it also on the side, as early as 1736 and probably earlier. To this was added a second and shallower pentroof at eaves level, thus dividing the

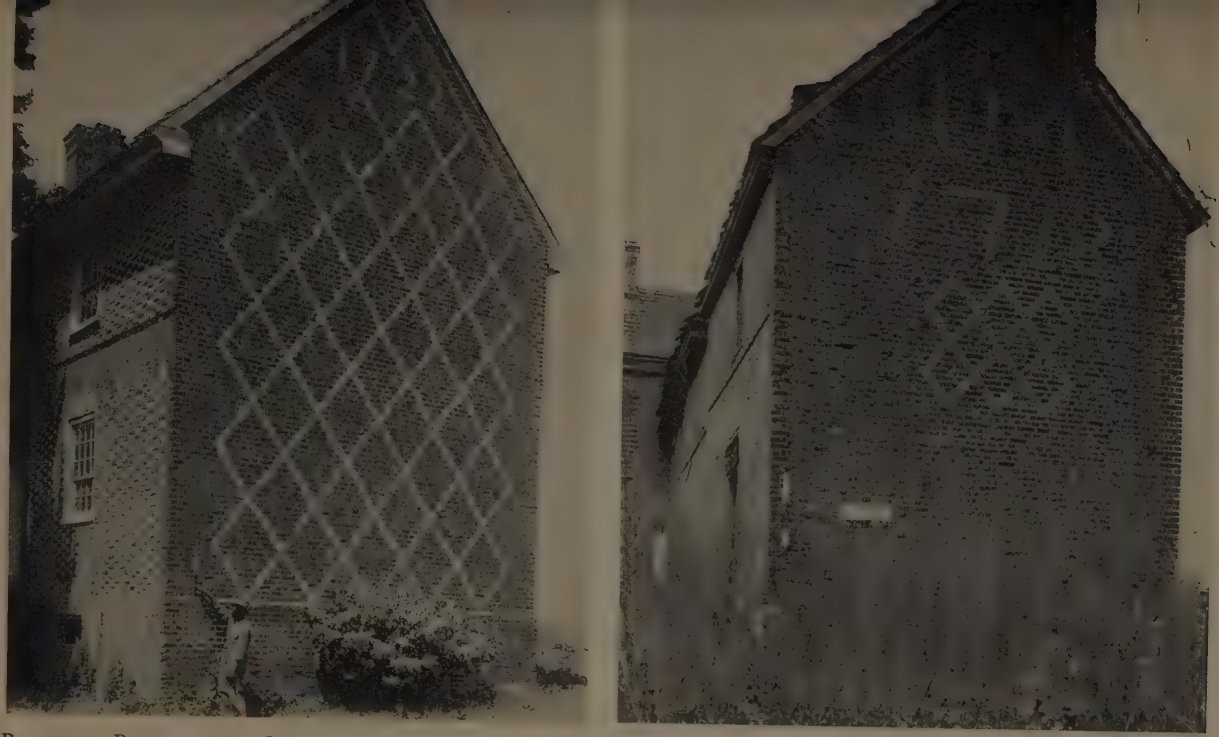
gable-end into at least two and often three parts. Because of this, many of the Burlington County houses use patterned brickwork only in the form of date and initials in the restricted gable.

The earliest known example was the John Rogers house, 1718, in the vicinity of Springside, now demolished. It is completely atypical and would seem to show some influence from Salem, although this cannot be proven. The gable bore the initials R, IM and a pediment-outline that did not close at the top. On second-story level there was the date and, between the first and second stories, a fragment of a diamond diaper identical with that of the Bradway-Hall house, 1691, Salem, except for each diamond's being two courses less in height. The facade used Flemish checker split by a pentroof and the rear had a somewhat larger diamond diaper fragment to the left and right of the central window.

The second example does not occur until 1731, toward the end of the period when Salem had been developing some of its finest examples. From this point on, the majority of the Burlington houses will use only date and initials; the second largest group will use the date only. There is a decided paucity of design and only three houses out of fifty-two will make any effort to achieve something beyond this.

The only possible example of an all-over diamond diaper may be in the Aaron Collins house, 1744, on the Green Tree-Mount Laurel road. It has been heavily stuccoed but a diamond diaper is said to begin to show through. The Job Ridgway house, 1753, near Jobstown, has taken the date and initials and set them within a zigzag frame on the second story area. The only house which bears some resemblance to the better Salem County examples is the so-called "Clinton's Headquarters," 1764, near Evesboro in Laurel Township. There are two attic windows in the gable, beneath which appears the date slightly below the line of the eaves and underlined by a single course of vitrified headers that carries straight across the gable-end. Beneath this is a single horizontal diamond string of seven diamonds. On a line with the bottom of the second story windows, there appears to be another horizontal line of vitrified headers, although the house is so coated with stucco that this is hard to determine.

There are four examples of banding in Burlington County,



PATTERNED BRICKWORK IN SOUTHERN NEW JERSEY. *Left:* Abel Nicholson house (1722), Elsinboro Township, Salem County. *Right:* John Rogers house (1718), Springside vicinity, Burlington County, now demolished. (Historic American Buildings Survey photos by George Neuschafer, 1941, and Nathaniel R. Ewan, 1937, respectively.)

the only dated example being the Eayres house, 1769, in Eayrestown. Two examples are found in an unnamed double house in the vicinity of Medford on Route 40. The fourth example is the Field-Stevens house in Fieldsboro.

The greatest number of Burlington County houses use date and initials only, set in the gable which is framed by the raking cornices on each side and the pentroof below at eaves level. We will mention only a few of these. The Michael Newbold house, 1736, on the Georgetown-Wrightstown road near Monmouth road is typical. The house is deep, giving a longer base and more acutely sloping sides to the gable than will be found in a house only one room deep. Such an enclosed area is rarely, if ever, used to full advantage. Here the design is compressed, leaving the base angles empty. The letters and numerals are all of nine courses. This may be accepted as a standard height for almost all initial-date combinations.

A strange variation is found in the Barzilla Newbold house, 1740, on the Georgetown-Columbus road. The pentroof is carried around the gable-end but the eaves pentroof is omitted, leaving an apparent gable that is actually composed of the gable and second-story area. On the first and second stories a window was placed to the right of center. The first story area uses Flemish checker. Above the pentroof, this checker is continued for thirteen courses and then reverts to plain Flemish bond except for the area to the right of the window, where it is continued to the top of the window. The initials and date are set in an approximate right angle to the left of the window and a large amount of empty space is left above the top N. As in most Burlington County examples, the vitrified header is laid horizontally with the result that all curves and diagonals have a stepped-up appearance.

The stodgy quality of much of the Burlington design is broken in 1754 by the Moore house in the vicinity of Lumberton, in which there is strong evidence of influences coming from the Dickinson house in Salem County, built in the same year. The house types are almost identical; there is the same relationship between smaller initials and larger date, the same spreading of the date across the gable-end, the same use of vertical and carved

headers, the same strong curves of the 5, although with more sedateness in the Moore house. Most unusual is the attempt to give a base to the gable-end by using vitrified brick in the top three header courses in the English bond of the cellar projection. The upper design is contained within the plain brick area of the gable and is placed in contrast to the Flemish checker of the first- and second-story areas. For the first time, and also the last, the gable-end is clearly divided into base, shaft, and capital, possibly indicating an awareness of classical forms that was apparently felt by no other builder.

From this point on, one new element enters which cannot be ignored since it is consciously integrated with the brick pattern: the attic windows. In the John Hough house, 1763, in Juliustown, a relatively large window is centered in the gable and topped by the initial, H. In its upper half it is flanked by the initials I and E; in its lower half by the date 17 and 63. The Clayton Newbold house, 1764, follows the arrangement of date and initials of the neighboring Michael Newbold house, 1736, but strengthens it, to a degree, by flanking the design with attic windows on the left and right. A minor change is found in those houses which do not use the eaves pentroof. In them the design is spread vertically, the top initial stands alone, the middle initials are flanked by a window left and right, and the date remains unbroken under the windows and middle initials. This may be found in the Hudson Burr house, 1785, and the Hollingshead-Peacock house, 1812, addition, among others. A window placed only between the two lower initials, capped by the top letter and based by the date, is found in the Hollingshead-Peacock house, early part, 1786.

Two other houses deserve attention because of their effort to provide some variety in the placement of the date and initials. The William Newbold house, 1769, Georgetown vicinity, employs a pentroof on each floor on the gable-end. In the gable the initials are flanked in the usual manner by attic windows, but the restrictions of the gable are avoided by placing the date under the eaves pentroof on the second story area. It is underlined by a single course of vitrified headers; the remainder of the space and also the first-floor area use Flemish checker. The date is thus isolated on a plain ground between two windows. A

second effort, a counterpart of which is to be found only in Maryland, is made in the Jacob Merritt house, 1785, Arney Mount vicinity, where the gable with its eaves pentroof is given over entirely to the attic window and the initials and date are run along in a string under the eaves pentroof.

A large group of houses dispensed with the initials, possibly because of the difficulties encountered in placing them adequately in the narrowed space. The William Allinson house, 1731, Burlington, is the earliest known example to use the date alone, underscored by a broad stringcourse. The first known example where the date is split by a window is the Caleb Shreve house, 1742, on the Georgetown-Columbus road. This is also the first known appearance of the numeral 4 opened at the top. The first added decoration occurs in the Appelgate house, 1765, Georgetown, where the date is placed in a gable with an eaves pentroof closing it off, is split in half by a window that is topped by a diamond of seven courses, and is enframed by a pediment-outline. Unlike Salem examples, the diamond is not a part of the pediment-outline.

There is one example of initials only which should be mentioned more for its peculiarity than anything else. The house itself is a fine specimen of very late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century architecture with bridged chimneys upon which the initials are set. If they stand for William Pew, to whom the house is attributed, they appear to be in reverse and resemble a small q and a capital W placed within parallel lines.

Gloucester County lies between Salem and Burlington counties and has few examples to detain us. They are the James Whittall house, 1766, in National Park; the Iredell house, 1788, in Ewan; and the Nathan Ward house, 1791, on the Great Egg Harbor road in Deptford Township.

A greater number of houses stand in Camden County. Most of these, as in Burlington County, are late, although one is as early as 1726—Pomona Hall, north gable-end, Camden. This house is of interest because of the placement of date and initials on the broad double chimney, with the lower two initials split by a diamond. The addition on the south was not built until 1786. It uses the date in the apex of the gable and the initials on the

single chimney, with three short lines of vitrified headers marking off the two units.

Windows are integrated with the design successfully in the Samuel Cooper house, 1790, Camden, where a semicircular window is topped by a single diamond at the top of the gable. Eleven courses below is the triangle of initials, flanked by windows left and right. Directly below this group is the date whose width is determined by the outer edges of the windows. This is the only unfortunate part of the design, for the date is unduly crushed between the bottom of the windows and the stringcourse at eaves level. The initials are given added elegance by using carved headers that taper the stems from thick to thin, with specially-cut ones for the terminations.

Conclusions concerning patterned brickwork in the Salem and Burlington areas have been reached as occasion arose and need not be repeated here. Our final conclusion must be that patterned brickwork in America is the continuation of a tradition established in the late medieval period in Europe, and that it was fresh in the minds of early settlers. Occasionally, in domestic architecture, it was to reach heights in America that were unsurpassed in any known European examples.

PATTERNED BRICKWORK IN NEW JERSEY

Burlington County

1718	John Rogers house, Springside vicinity; now demolished. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Diamond diaper fragment, 1718, pediment-outline, and R, IM; diamond diaper fragment on rear.
1731	William Allinson house, Burlington. Brick, two and a half stories, gambrel roof. 1731.
1733	Thomas Woodward house, Arneytown vicinity on the Keith, East and West Jersey line. 1733, and W, TH.
1736	John Roberts house, Fellowship-Lenola road. 1736, and R, JM.
1736	Michael Newbold house, Georgetown-Wrightstown road, near Monmouth road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable and at eaves level). 1736, and N, M plus-sign S, with checker and checkered stringcourse.

1740 Barzilla Newbold house, Georgetown-Columbus road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable). 1740, and N, BS, with checker.

1742 Caleb Shreve house, Georgetown-Columbus road. Brick and wood, two and a half stories, pitched roof; may have been one and a half stories with gambrel roof. 1742.

1744 John Deacon house, Deacon's Station vicinity on Elbow Lane. 1744, and D, IH.

1744 Aaron Collins house, Green Tree-Mt. Laurel road. 1744, and diamond diaper. No further information concerning this house is available.

Middle 18th Unnamed house, small wing, Medford vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Banding and window framing in vitrified headers.

1750 Francis Hopkinson house, Burlington. Brick, two and a half stories, mansard roof, pentroof (and also on gable and at eaves level). 1750.

1751 Darling Conroe house, Fairview vicinity on Haines Mill road, near Burlington Pike. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. 1751, and C, DD.

1752 Bodine house, Bustleton vicinity on road leading from Florence to the Columbus-Burlington road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1752.

1753 Job Ridgway house, Jobstown vicinity on the Columbus-Georgetown road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. 1753, and IR, set in a frame of zigzag lines.

1754 Thackara house, Collingswood. T and IM.

1754 Joseph Moore house, Lumberton vicinity on Bulls Head road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1754, and M (other initials destroyed by later windows), with checker and banding at base.

1761 Unnamed house, Jacksonville. 1761.

1762 "Ivystone" (Samuel Allen house), Five Points vicinity. 1762 and AL.

1763 John Hough house, Juliustown (formerly called Houghtown). Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and probably also on gable). 1763, and H, IE.

1764 Clayton (Caleb) Newbold house, Georgetown-Wrightstown road, near Monmouth road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable and at eaves level). 1764, and N, C dash M, with checker.

1764 "Clinton's Headquarters," Evesboro vicinity, Laurel Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1764, single line at eaves level, and horizontal diamond string.

1764	Joseph Buzby house, Charleston vicinity, Beverly section. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1764, and B, JH, with checker and checkered stringcourse.
1764	Askew house, Burlington. 1764, and S, HH.
1765	Black house, Jacksonville-Jobstown road, west of Route 39. 1765.
1765	Appelgate house, Georgetown. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also at eaves level). 1765, single diamond, and pediment-outline.
1766	Taylor house, Chesterfield vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof at eaves level. 1766, and T, AA, with checker.
1769	Eayres house, Eayrestown. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. Banding.
1769	William Newbold house, 1 mile east of Georgetown. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable and at eaves level). 1769 underlined, and N, WS, with checker.
1772	Hoot Owl Farm, Taunton Lakes vicinity, off old Tuckertown road. Brick, two and half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable). 1772 underlined by stringcourse.
1772	Friends Meeting House, Rancocas. Brick, one and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof at eaves level. 1772, and sprinkle.
1776	Joseph Jones house, Lumberton vicinity, east, on private road extending through to Mt. Holly-Ayrestown road. 1776.
Late 18th	Unnamed house, Medford vicinity, large wing. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Banding.
1780	Howard Wills house, Charleston vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also at eaves level). 1780, with checker.
1782	Daniel Wilkins (Job Prickett) house, Sandtown, Southampton Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and probably also on gable). 1782.
1782	I.A. house, Sandtown, Medford vicinity. 1782, and IA.
1783	John Woolman house, Branch Street, Mt. Holly. 1783, and W, JE.
1783	Thomas Buzby house, Franklin Park vicinity on Rancocas Creek. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. 1783, and B, TT.
1785	Jacob Merritt house, Arney Mount vicinity on Arneys Mount-Chambers Corner road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on eaves level), with the design below this instead of in its usual position above it. M, IT, and 1785, all in a single line.

1785 Hudson Burr house, on long lane leading from South Pemberton road near the Birmingham road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1785, and B, RM.

1785 B (T and S) house, Green Tree vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable and at eaves level). 1785, and B, TS, with sprinkle.

1785 Benjamin Wilkins house, on obscure road which intersects the Marlton-Red Lion highway west of the Medford Circle. 1785, and BW.

1785 Thomas Evans house, Marlton vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable and at eaves level). 1785, and E, TM.

1786 Aaron Wills house, Centerton vicinity, over Rancocas Bridge about 1 mile, and right. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1786, and W, AR.

1786 Hollingshead-Peacock house, smaller wing, one room deep, Vincentown vicinity on Pemberton-Vincentown road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. 1786, and H, IM.

1787 Amos Wilkins house, Cross Roads vicinity on Lumberton-Medford road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof at eaves level only. 1787, and AW.

1789 "Ridgway" house, Charleston vicinity. 1789, and M, WR.

1789 Jacob Wills house, Marlton vicinity, north side of first left road south of Marlton. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on eaves level). 1789 underlined, and W, IM.

1791 Hezekiah Jones house, on South Pemberton road just east of Smithville intersection; on Route 38, 7 miles west of intersection with Route 206-39. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1791, and J, HM.

1792 Gaskill house, Jobstown vicinity on Old Monmouth road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1792, and G, IB.

1797 Unnamed house, Green Tree-Mount Laurel road. 1797.

Late 18th Field-Stevens house, Fieldsboro. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof on eaves level only. Banding. (This house bears a date stone marked "1725 E.R., H.D." but it is known that it was set in the apex of the gable by the owner in 1936.)

Late 18th Early 19th William Pew house, Deacon vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, massive twin end chimneys bridged. QW on bridge.

1812 Hollingshead-Peacock house, large wing, two rooms deep, Vincentown vicinity on Pemberton-Vincentown road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1812, and P, DS.

Camden County

1726	Pomona Hall, Camden, occupied by the Camden County Historical Society. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof, massive twin end chimneys bridged. 1726 and C (partially cut off at top), 1 single diamond M, on the chimney.
1756	Hampton Hospital House, Chews Landing vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1756; banding on opposite gable.
1764	Glover house, Bellmawr vicinity. 1764.
1768	Samuel Hugg house, Westville vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, twin end chimneys treated as a single block. 1768, and H, SM on chimney.
1785	French house, Fellowship vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof on eaves level only. 1785, and F, CS, with banding; banding on rear.
Late 18th	Burr house, Haddon Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof at eaves level and facade. Single diamond.
1788	Pomona Hall, Camden, now occupied by Camden County Historical Society. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1788 underlined, and C, MM, between parallel lines, on chimney. (See also under 1726)
1790	Samuel Cooper house, 22nd Street and Wayne Avenue, Camden, west building. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1790, and C, SP, with single diamond.
1794	Warrick house, Haddon Heights. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1794, and W, AE.
1819-31	Grieveson house, 1218 North 32nd Street, Camden. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. J.SG in a single line.

Cumberland County

1770	David Bowen house, Roadstown. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1770, and B, DL.
1770	Ananias Sayre house, Roadstown. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1770.
1775	Daniel Bowen house, Roadstown. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1775.
1781	Joseph Sheppard house, Sea Breeze, on the Delaware River southwest of Bridgeton. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Single solid diamond, and 1781.
1786	Uriah Loper house, Seeley vicinity. Brick, one and a half stories, pitched roof. 1786.
1788	Grover Lang house. Crossed lines with legs and head, 1788, and S, IR.

Gloucester County

1766 James Whittall house, National Park, above Woodbury and about halfway between Woodstown and Burlington. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable). 1766.

1788 Iredell house, Ewan, Elk Township. 1788, and initials.

1791 Nathan Ward house, Deptford Township. 1791, banding, and W, NA.

Mercer County

1785 Hutchinson house, Hutchinson Mills, Washington Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1785, and H, IS.

Morris County

1812 John Smith house, Washington Valley. 1812.

Salem County

1691 Bradway-Hall house, Salem. Brick, two and a half stories, gambrel roof. Horizontal diamond string doubled (or diamond diaper fragment).

1720 Joseph Darkin house, Elsinboro Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Diamond diaper with inserted 1720, and pediment-outline.

1722 Abel Nicholson house, Elsinboro Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Diamond diaper with inserted 1722, and pediment-outline; pediment-outline with checker on opposite gable.

1725 John Maddox Denn house, Hancock's Bridge vicinity. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Diamond diaper, pediment-outline, 1725, and D, IxL.

1727 John Worledge (Wilkinson-Worledge) house, Salem. Brick, one and a half stories, gambrel roof. Horizontal zigzag, 1727, and IW.

1729 Richard Smith house, Salem vicinity. Brick, one and a half stories (now two and a half), gambrel roof (now pitched). Horizontal diamond string, broken checkered stringcourse, pediment-outline, 1729, and S, RS.

*c.*1730 Nathaniel Chambless house, Hancock's Bridge vicinity, Lower Alloways Creek Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Vertical zigzag.

1734 William Hancock house, large wing, Hancock's Bridge. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Vertical zigzag, 1734, and H, WS; vertical zigzag on opposite gable end.

*c.*1735	"Ephraim Padgett" house, Harmersville vicinity, Lower Alloways Creek Township. Brick, one and a half stories (now two and a half), gambrel roof (now pitched). Diamond diaper.
1735	"Ceasbey" (Kent-Keasbey) house, Quinton Township. Brick, one and a half stories (now two and a half), gambrel roof (now pitched). 1735, and C, WE.
1736	William Oakford house, 1 mile south of Alloway, Alloway Township. Brick, one and a half stories, gambrel roof. 1736, and O, WM.
1737	William Mecum house, Lower Penns Neck Township. Brick, one and a half stories (now two and a half), gambrel roof (now pitched). 1737, and M, WM.
*c.*1740	Cornelius Copner house, Lower Penns Neck Township. Brick two and a half stories, pitched roof. Solid diamond on one gable; banding on other gable end. (This house is probably later in date than 1740.)
1741	Matthias Lamson (Lameson) house, Lower Penns Neck Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Pediment-outline, 1741, and L, MM.
1743	Zaccheus Dunn (Pissant) house, Woodstown vicinity, Pilesgrove Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. 1743, and D, ZD.
1743	Jonathan Tufts house, Salem. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1743, and possibly initials.
*c.*1745	Samuel Stubbins house, Alloways vicinity (now demolished). Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. S only is visible in photographs taken in 1887.
1746	Jacob Richman house, Whig Lane, Upper Pittsgrove Township. Brick, one and a half stories, gambrel roof. Checker in gable stopped at top roof slope by broad checkered string; checkered string also at eaves; plain pediment with round-arched niche framed in checker (date lost).
1746	Aaron Hill house, Woodstown vicinity, Pilesgrove Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1746, and AH.
Undated	Hill Tenement, Woodstown vicinity, on property of Aaron Hill house (demolished *c.*1940). Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. Banding on both gable end and facade.
1746	Joseph Champneys house, Woodstown environs. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Diamond diaper, banded stringcourse, 1746, and C, IC.
1752	Samuel Nicholson house, Elsinboro Township. Brick, two

and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also on gable end). 1752, and N, SS.

1752 "Daniel Smith" house, Quinton vicinity, Quinton Township. Brick, one and a half stories (now two and a half), gambrel roof (now pitched). 1752, and R, IS.

1754 John Dickinson house, Woodstown vicinity, Alloway Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Sprouting design of solid diamonds, solitary solid diamonds, 1754, and D, IM.

1755 David Bassett house, Woodstown. Brick, one and a half stories (now two and a half), gambrel roof (now mansard). 1755, and B, DM.

1755 Jarman Mansion, Alloway Township, near Cumberland County line on Harvey Beal road. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. Checkered gable end stopped by broad string; gable plain brick.

1757 Samuel Bassett house, Woodstown vicinity, Pilesgrove Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Underlining, 1757, vertical diamond string of three diamonds, coronet, and B, SA.

1758 Joseph Ware (Shourds-Ware) house, Hancock's Bridge vicinity. Brick, one and a half stories (now two and a half), pitched roof. Pediment-outline closed at base, 1758, and outlined plaque.

1762 Seven Stars Tavern (Peter Lauderback house), Sharptown vicinity, Pilesgrove Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof (and also at eaves level on both gable ends). 1762, BL overlapping, PE; date plaque on opposite gable.

1763 Beetle house, Upper Penns Neck Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1763, sprouting diamond, and B, IC.

1764 John Oakford house, Hancock's Bridge vicinity. Brick, one and a half stories, gambrel roof. 1764, O with I and R split by plus-sign, and checker.

1764 Michael Richman house, Whig Lane vicinity, Upper Pittsgrove Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pentroof. Broken underlining, 1764 split by vertical diamond string of three diamonds, isolated solid diamonds, and R, MR.

1765 Joseph Sneathen house, Friesburg vicinity, Alloway Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1765, and S, JR.

1772 Friends Meeting House, Salem. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. Underlining and 1772.

1775 Samuel Swing house, Shirley vicinity, Upper Pittsgrove Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof, pent-roof. Sprouting solid diamonds, 1775, isolated solid diamonds, and S, SS.

1785 Friends Meeting House, Woodstown. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1785.

1792 Mayhew house, Pole Tavern vicinity, Upper Pittsgrove Township. Brick, two and a half stories, pitched roof. 1792, and M, ES.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

In preparing for an exhibition of European and American glass to be held at the Newark Museum, much research has been done on the glass makers of New Jersey. In this exhibition, which opens September 30, various examples from New Jersey glass houses will be shown, and one section will be devoted to what we now term the South Jersey tradition. To supplement the Museum's collection, fine pieces of New Jersey glass as well as South Jersey types made outside this state, are being lent by private collectors, by the New Jersey Historical Society, and by George S. McKearin, who owns some exceptionally choice examples. The exhibition will show European glass from which American techniques and styles have developed and will range in date from the sixteenth century to the present.

GLASS MAKERS OF NEW JERSEY

When Caspar Wistar landed at Philadelphia on the 16th of September, 1717, he could never have dreamed that he would go down in American history as the founder of a glass industry. Such an idea would have been far from his thoughts for the simple reason that he had no practical knowledge of glass making. Caspar was born in Wald-Hilspach, in the electorate of Heidelberg, in 1695. His father, Johannes Caspar Wistar, is said to have been *Fürstenjäger,* or electoral huntsman, to Carl Theodore of Bavaria.

In Philadelphia, Caspar early acquired repute as the maker of brass buttons. He joined the Society of Friends in 1725, perhaps attracted there by the Quakeress whom he married the following year. Caspar Wistar's eldest son and successor in his enterprises was Richard, born 1727. By the middle 1730's Wistar was recorded as a "Brass Button Maker of Philadelphia, a merchant of standing and a man of parts and of property."

Evidently Caspar Wistar was astute enough to realize that glass products were among the outstanding needs in the provinces of Pennsylvania and of East and West New Jersey. The importations of window glass and bottles from abroad were intermittent; there was never enough glass available to supply local demands. Although various glass houses had been founded in the colonies, beginning with the two Jamestown ventures of 1608 and 1620, none seems to have survived for more than a decade or two.

Therefore, in spite of his own lack of knowledge, and in spite of England's ban on the manufacture of glass in the colonies, Wistar undertook the establishment of a glass furnace and sought skilled workmen from abroad. That he made certain of obtaining experts from Holland or Germany before launching his venture is evidenced by an agreement dated December 7, 1738, in which Wistar agreed to pay the passage of four men from Rotterdam, "they to teach the art of glassmaking to him and his son Richard, and no one else," while he was to furnish all the essentials "for a glass factory in the province of New Jersey." Later, other foreign workmen were added to the plant and the names of these men still persist among the families of Salem County.

Wistar chose Salem County as the site of his glass furnace because it provided the needed sand, fuel, and water transportation. Shallops were able to navigate Alloways Creek and Wistar used these small boats in moving supplies or finished products. A flask made at Bridgeton and owned by the Museum has such a boat molded on one side of the bottle.

Here, in one hundred acres of woodland, Wistar built homes for his workmen, a mansion house for himself, a bakehouse, and a general store that not only supplied the inhabitants from miles around but also served as a social center. This self-supporting community came to be known as Wistarberg and the enterprise founded here by Wistar became the first successful glass industry in the colonies. When Caspar died in 1752, he left the glass works to Richard Wistar who also carried on the manufacture of brass buttons in Philadelphia. After forty years of success, the plant finally succumbed in 1780 due to the depression that followed the Revolutionary War.

In the Newark Museum's possession is a pane of window glass, measuring seven by nine inches, from a New Jersey house built in 1747. There would seem to be little question but that this pane came from Wistar's furnace. The presence of a boss or "bull's eye" in the pane indicates that it was not imported from abroad. Only flat pieces of rectangular or diamond-shaped glass were shipped long distances, the thick boss at the center of a glass disc being cut away to save precious space in packing. On the other hand, a pane of glass with boss left in could be cut to larger size. This being an advantage, window glass obtained locally might contain a bull's eye and in 1747 Wistarberg seems to have been the only glass house where such panes were obtainable. We know from an advertisement of 1752 that the Wistars provided window glass cut in several different sizes, including seven by nine inches.

In addition to bottles and window glass, the blowers of Wistarberg turned out pitchers, bowls, dishes, preserve jars, occasionally a vase or a "witch" ball. These pieces were blown from light green or aquamarine window glass and from the rich brown or ambers used in making bottles. Common glass

used for stock products was a coarser "metal" than that used for finer table wares. The natural colors of this glass range through various tones of green, olive-amber and amber, the colors being caused by the presence of such metallic substances as iron and alumina. In the American colonies the ingredients used for common or "green" glass were silica in the form of sand, and potash derived from wood ashes, the latter being cheap and convenient to prepare because of abundant timber. To give the glass a pronounced color, small amounts of metal oxide were added to the batch: nickel or cobalt for purple, cobalt with copper for blue, iron for yellow, copper and/or chromium for a rich green. Though light green and aquamarine were Wistar's favorite colors, the glass house turned out many pieces in amber and dark brown, as shown in the illustration. Comparatively few pieces were made in blue, a favorite color at the Stiegel works in Pennsylvania.

In those days every glassblower was both designer and craftsman. He was under no compulsion to meet a current fashion and, therefore, made his household wares as fancy or taste dictated. No two pieces were exactly alike. The glassmakers of Wistarberg showed their German or Dutch training in the simplicity of the pieces they fashioned and in the use of applied ornament—that is, glass used to decorate itself. This mode of ornamentation, stemming from the Roman period, was much used in Europe and was highly favored by South Jersey glassmakers. One finds in the Newark Museum's collection South Jersey pitchers and bottles decorated with applied threading. The same ornamentation is used on an eighteenth-century Spanish mug free blown from common or "green" glass. A variant of this technique is seen in the applied swirls of the "lily pad," a characteristic South Jersey decoration.

In 1770, young Jacob Stanger, or Stenger, ran away from Wistarberg. This might not have proved important save for the fact that five years later he and his brothers founded the second New Jersey glass works at Glassboro in Gloucester County. Since Jacob served his apprenticeship at the Wistar plant—he was eighteen when he left—it is not surprising that the Stangers and their immediate successors at Glassboro followed the Wistarberg precedents with regard to form, colors, and modes of decoration: in other words, what has come to be known as the South Jersey type. The main output, as usual, was window glass and bottles. That glassblowers made other objects in their off hours is evident from the green-glass cane owned by the New Jersey Historical Society. This cane was bought about 1830 by Peter and Sarah Hagerman who were visiting in Glassboro at the time. Later it became a parlor ornament in the home of Henry P. and Margaret (Hagerman) Cortelyou of Franklin Park in Somerset County. The Glassboro enterprise passed through many hands. About 1839-40 it became the Whitney Glass Works. Among the Whitney prod-

ucts were some of the most interesting patent-medicine bottles made in this country. In 1918 the factory was acquired by the Owens Bottle Company.

The Stanger family was one of the earliest associated with glass blowing in South Jersey. Throughout the nineteenth century we find the name reappearing in connection with new enterprises. In the first years of the nineteenth century a small furnace, called the Union Glass Factory, was erected by Frederick Stanger, his cousin Jacob, and William Shough, on the road from Port Elizabeth to Millville. There being fine sand beds both in Millville and Williamstown, we find a number of the early glass furnaces in that region. In 1799, James Lee started the Eagle Glass Works at Port Elizabeth. It was this same James Lee who erected the first glass furnace at Millville in 1806. About 1844 this plant was sold to the Whitall brothers, and for many years produced apothecaries' wares. Here, too, were made the paperweights owned by the New Jersey Historical Society. Throughout the nineteenth century the plant was an important center of glass making and the firm still exists, as part of the Armstrong Glass Company.

Was it, perhaps, Whitall, Tatum & Company of Millville who made the whiskey bottles decorated with a palmetto tree and the letters "SC" for South Carolina? The bottles were made in South Jersey for the Carolina trade during the early 1890's, while the state of South Carolina had a dispensary system. The Charleston Museum owns several of these bottles and is lending examples to the Newark Museum for inclusion in their forthcoming exhibition of glass.

About 1800, Jonathan Haines and some Philadelphia associates built a glass house at Clementon in Camden County. Some seventeen years later, Haines and William Coffin erected a works in Galloway Township, Gloucester County. The hamlet that sprang up in connection with this was called Hammonton. Haines sold out, but the business continued until about 1857 under the name of Coffin and Hay. Historical flasks produced at Hammonton are in the Newark Museum's collection.

By 1820 there were some eleven glass furnaces operating in South Jersey. The census report of 1840 records twenty-eight glass houses and four glass-cutting establishments in the state, with a total of 1,075 glass workers employed. Through the years these numbers steadily increased, and through the years we meet the Stangers. The Isabella Glass Works on the Brooklyn-Williamstown road in South Jersey was started in 1848 as a green-bottle works. Some say it was built by Thomas W. Stanger and named for his daughter, Isabella. Others claim that she was the daughter of Julius Stanger. Quite possibly both men had an interest in the Glass Works.

About 1850 a glass house was started at Fislerville, now Clayton, by Jacob P. Fisler and Benjamin Beckett. To some collectors the Fislerville Glass Works will forever be associated with the Swedish singer, Jenny Lind, whose portrait appears on a calabash bottle pro-

SOUTH JERSEY GLASSWARE

Above: South Jersey amber bowls; dark olive green vase, South Jersey type, made in Connecticut; all 1800-35. *Below:* Pair of mantel ornaments, aquamarine with opaque white loopings, South Jersey, *c.* 1835-65. (Photos courtesy of New-

duced at Fislerville during or immediately following her visit to this country in 1850-51 under the sponsorship of P. T. Barnum. The Museum has a Fislerville "Jenny Lind" and also one made at Ravenna, Ohio.

No doubt it was the foreign experts at Wistarberg who introduced there the bi- and tri-colored pieces that were to become so popular with glass makers during the nineteenth century. The Museum has a European cordial bottle in amber and opaque white that might well have served as inspiration for later South Jersey types. From South Jersey come a fine pair of mantel ornaments in aquamarine with opaque white loopings, given to the Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Paul B. Sommers in memory of their son, Paul Adams Sommers. Also in this gift is a small cream jug with matching ball stopper. Wistarberg was fond of these hollow glass balls which were made in various sizes and used as covers for pitchers and jars or, in larger size, as ornaments. Privately owned in New Jersey is a handsome milk pitcher with loopings of bright blue and opaque white. Extending vertically through the handle is a line of the blue, standing out sharply in the otherwise colorless glass.

The finest collection of South Jersey glass in the state is at the Alexander Grant house in Salem.

From Wistarberg and Glassboro the traditions and techniques brought to America by Wistar's glassblowers spread to other New Jersey factories, to New York State and New England. Even as far away as western Pennsylvania and Ohio we find the South Jersey tradition cropping up. For more than a hundred years workmen followed the established ways, producing household wares unaltered in form. Because the pieces were made for local needs, never mass-produced, they were seldom found far from the region in which they had been made. They represent American folk art, characterized by individuality, sturdiness, and a fine appreciation for color and form.

It was a Vineland glass maker, named J. L. Mason, who first produced the renowned Mason fruit jars at Crowleytown in Atlantic County about 1856-1863. The first successful vacuum thermos jug came from Vineland. Dr. Welch's famous grape juice was bottled in demijohns purchased from Whitall, Tatum & Company of Millville.

Jersey City has been in the glass business since 1824 when the Jersey Glass Company was established by George Dummer, Joseph K. Milnor, and William G. Bull. George's brother, Phineas, was also in the company and about 1830 the firm took his name—P. C. Dummer & Company. Their products were molded and pressed glass, druggists' wares, and the more expensive flint glass—cut, engraved or gilded. In their cutting shops forty-four wheels were run by steam.

Today, we find the South Jersey glass industry consolidated around Glassboro, Salem, Millville, Bridgeton, and Vineland. Here are made basic supplies, while in Hammonton, Flemington, and the vicinity of Newark are found specialized industries that produce cut and stained glass and scientific apparatus.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

HAVE you ever thought about a specific date or period as a turning point in history? History books covering all periods of world development specify many events which in the perspective given by time have proved themselves to be turning points. Many times during World War II writers in the public press, as well as news commentators on radio marked battles or diplomatic events as probable occurrences which future historians would agree to be turning points in the war. Certainly we have been looking for turning points in the Cold War. Turning points have often been the topics of fruitful conversation and now, perhaps, we at the Society can mark a turning point of our own!

I am referring to the adopted plan proposed by the Special Committee on Planning and Development for bringing the Society's budget into balance. This committee, headed by the Hon. John O. Bigelow, made some specific recommendations, subsequently adopted at the May 18th meeting of the Board of Trustees, which is the date I have in mind as a possible turning point.

It has been estimated that in order to balance its budget, the Society is in need of at least $15,000 annually. The special committee, mindful of this, recommended (1) that a Committee on Institutional Members be appointed to obtain a minimum of fifty corporate memberships at $100 per year; (2) that another committee be appointed to seek from members a number of gifts of $100 each with the intention of continuing the gift annually for five years; (3) that the dues of contributing members be raised from $5 to $10, with a new class of associate members without voting privileges whose dues would be set at $5; and (4) that an annual event, such as an antiques fair, be undertaken by the Woman's Branch.

All of these recommendations are in the process of being carried out. A committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Henry Puder, has already increased the number of institutional members from fourteen to twenty, with the prospect of bringing in many more this fall. The entire Board of Trustees was appointed a committee to seek special continuing gifts, with Dr. McCormick, president of the Society, as chairman. The results of this committee's work also are very promising. The dues of contributing members, unchanged since some time prior to 1898, were raised to ten dollars, and on June 23rd

the affected membership was notified by a letter from the President. The Woman's Branch, too, has accepted its assignment and plans, in the fall, to organize an antiques forum as a preliminary step in the eventual development of an antiques fair.

Meanwhile, a special Committee on Trustees, appointed at the November 1954 meeting of the Board of Trustees under the chairmanship of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin M. Washburn, has continued to nominate new members to the Board in order to bring the strength of that body up to thirty-six, as provided in the amendment to the By-laws approved at the annual meeting of the Society last October 27. Four new members have been elected to the Board since its February meeting. They are William A. Hughes of South Orange, Edward J. Grassman of Elizabeth, William A. Maude of Upper Montclair, and Thomas T. Taber of Madison, which brings the membership of that body up to thirty-one.

It is good to be able to report the Society has procured the services of a new librarian. He is Mr. Fred Shelley and he comes to us from the Maryland Historical Society, where he held the positions of librarian and editor of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. He has had thorough training in library and archival work both at the Library of Congress and at the American University, Washington, D.C., under the guidance of Dr. Ernst Posner, and is the author of various articles of historical interest appearing in a number of historical publications. It will be a pleasure to welcome Mr. Shelley to the staff on September 6th and to wish him well in his endeavors here.

The fifth annual New Jersey Historical Conference was held at Freehold on May 21st this year with the co-operation of the Monmouth County Historical Association. Once again we were fortunate in having good weather when almost three hundred people from all over New Jersey assembled at the courthouse to hear a varied program of good speakers on interesting topics. The morning program consisted of a general session over which Mrs. William C. Riker, president of the Monmouth County Historical Association, presided, introducing Mr. Fred A. Eckhart, superintendent of plans and surveys of the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development, who spoke on "Allaire, Deserted Village"; George J. Miller, registrar of the Board of General Proprietors of East New Jersey, who described the functions of the Board and the extent of their records; and Dr. Richard P. McCormick, president of the New Jersey Historical Society, who addressed his audience on "Paths to the Past."

Following luncheon at the American House, the meeting divided into three groups, one presided over by Hon. Richard R. Stout, state senator from Monmouth County, assembling to hear William H. Mariboe, chairman of the Social Studies Department at Peddie School, speak on "William Franklin, Loyalist"; and Edward H. Feltus, director of the Monmouth

County Historical Association, describe the Battle of Monmouth. A second group, under the leadership of Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen, convened to hear Mrs. William Spohn Baker give a demonstrational talk on refinishing antique furniture; and a third, interested in genealogical pursuits, heard a discussion by Henry W. Pilch, Donald A. Sinclair, D. Stanton Hammond, and Richard Cook, moderated by Edwin A. Baldwin, members of the Genealogical Society of New Jersey.

These sessions were followed by a bus trip to Allaire, where the group had the opportunity of seeing the remains of the once-thriving industrial community of the early nineteenth century, now a ghost town. The day was ended with a visit to the Monmouth County Historical Association museum and a punch party at the American House.

This society is very much indebted to Mrs. Riker and to her committee, Mrs. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Feltus, Mr. Charles Vanderveer, Mrs. William Shippen Davis, Mrs. Edward M. Crane, and Miss Mildred Enright, for the splendid cooperation and unstinting efforts in making the day a most successful one.

After an extremely full three months, the special exhibition, "American Family Life, 1875," marking the eightieth anniversary of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, came to a close on June 2. Sixty-three hundred visitors saw it, including almost nineteen hundred children in school groups from four counties, and the Society is now richer by three period rooms which will remain unchanged during the summer months. A small special exhibition has been installed in the main floor south corridor to replace that portion of the Family Life exhibit. Entitled "New Jersey through Artists' Eyes," it is comprised of a collection of original oils, water colors and ink drawings by New Jersey artists of the nineteenth century. Among the eighteen works on view is a rural landscape by George B. McClellan, Civil War general from New Jersey.

Also presently exhibited in our south gallery is a superb collection of five dolls and a perfectly preserved doll carriage, of the 1870 period. They are the gift of Mrs. Ella Cox Henkel of Ridgewood.

A fine manuscript gift was received from Mr. Charles B. Bradley of Convent Station. It is a letter from Elias Boudinot to his wife, written on the day he was elected president of the Continental Congress. Dated November 4, 1782, it reflects intense excitement as he gives his wife instructions on the disposition of his property and at the same time urges her to hurry and join him at Philadelphia for a year. "I scarcely know what I write," says he, then adding, "How happy should I be was you here."

Three century-old manuscript volumes which record the community life of Denville, Morris County, were presented by Walter H. Gardner, Jr., through William F. McBride of Passaic. One tells of the Saturday night debates of the Denville Debating Association and

Lyceum, 1847-62 and again after 1870. Explaining an "interregnum of eight years," Cummins O. Cooper, secretary, wrote under date of January 18, 1870, "The Great War of the Rebellion of the Slaveholders took away so many of our boys that the debates died out for a time." Minutes of the Farmers Club of Denville occupy the second volume, whose discussions on crops and animal husbandry are recorded for the years 1848-60. The third is the "Book of Record and Account for Denville School District 11," for the years 1845-88. Among other facts, it is recorded that in 1847, when ninty-six children were enrolled in the district school, the trustees voted a pro rata tax on parents to pay a coal bill of $11.55. Henry Hurd, who doubled as district school clerk, was paid $61.69 for teaching school. Another teacher received $3.69. The total school budget came to $72.66!

Despite the heavy spring schedule of luncheons held by the Prudential and the continuing visiting classes of children, scheduled meetings and programs were held by other organizations. The Woman's Branch held its annual meeting on April 13, when, following an enjoyable lunch and business meeting, Mrs. Olga G. Atkins, state supervisor of historic sites, gave an illustrated lecture, "New Jersey's Heritage," as represented by the historic houses preserved by the state. This was followed by the annual meeting of the Museums Council of New Jersey on April 15, whose members, following their business meeting, viewed the American Family Life exhibition. The Society was honored on May 5 by a visit from a group of members of the Warren County Historical Society. Headed by Mr. J. Harold Nunn, president, they spent the afternoon viewing the exhibits and using the resources of the library. The Huguenot Society of New Jersey also held a meeting of its Board here on June 4.

It is pleasant to record that the Society was represented on Governor Robert B. Meyner's Weekly Report over Station WATV on June 5, when Dr. McCormick, your director, Alden Cottrell, and Mrs. Olga Atkins—the latter both of the Department of Conservation and Economic Development—discussed with the Governor historic sites worth visiting in New Jersey this summer.

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

Each spring, with the advent of good weather, local societies plan pilgrimages and historical tours. To date, we have heard of some half dozen such outings and doubtless many more are being contemplated. The Old Barracks Association conducted a tour to Burlington County on May 11; the Archeological Society of New Jersey visited the Abbott Farm, a fabulous site for New Jersey Indian excavations near Trenton, on May 14; and on the same day nine historic and modern Somerset County residences were opened to the Woman's Auxiliary

of the Somerset County Medical Society; the Camden County Historical Society visited Fort Delaware on April 30 and made a tour of the bog iron furnace country, including Atsion, Basto, and Weymouth on May 28; the Bergen County Historical Society visited outstanding sandstone houses in North Jersey on June 11; Somerset County Historical Society planned a late June tour with a picnic lunch and an afternoon at the Van Doren house in Millstone; the Cape May County Art League planned to visit some twenty notable buildings on July 8, and the Burlington County Historical Society, in lieu of a spring pilgrimage, invited its members to attend the fifth annual New Jersey Historical Conference.

Another outdoor event which attracted considerable attention was a rally of the Antique Automobile Club of America which, as a salute to Armed Forces Day, met at Fort Dix on May 14. Altogether, about 160 venerable horseless carriages from five states passed in review. Among the outstanding models displayed were Stanley Steamers of 1903, ancient Fords, a 1904 Oldsmobile, a 1907 Chadwick, a 1922 Dodge, 1926 Cadillac phaeton and a 1913 Packard limousine. Many prizes were issued for performance, drivers' costumes, speed cranking, etc. About fifty of the old timers drove en masse along Route 22 and the Garden State Parkway, escorted by state police and trailed by an A.A.A. patrol car to lend moral support to drivers with overheated radiators.

Magnificent Florham, the 750-acre farm estate of the late Ruth V. Twombly, was opened for two days to public view on June 13 and 14 in preparation for an auction of furnishings conducted June 15 and 16 by the Parke-Bernet Galleries. Thus for the first time in over a generation outsiders were permitted to enter its gates. It was built in 1896 by Miss Twombly's parents, Hamilton McKown Twombly, sulphur king, and Florence Vanderbilt Twombly, daughter of William H. Vanderbilt. Here the Twombly's, with the aid of 100 servants, operated a model farm and park and held lavish week-end parties and dinners for eighty to one hundred guests. The ultimate fate of the mansion is still uncertain.

Big doings are reported from Springfield where, at the May 26 meeting of the Springfield Historical Society, President Henry C. McMullen announced that the estate of the late C. Harry Casperson had signed an agreement with the society relinquishing all claims to the historic Cannon Ball House and thus turning the old home over to the society after July 16, when the township of Springfield will have finished leasing the house for the period of the 175th anniversary celebration of the Battle of Springfield. From June 5 through the 26th, in commemoration of the battle, open house was held at the Cannon Ball House each afternoon with ladies of the Springfield Historical Society and members of the Church and Cannon Chapter, D.A.R., serving as hostesses in colonial costume. Mr. and Mrs. Clyde W. Heath of Springfield furnished three rooms

in the Cannon Ball House with early American furniture, while upstairs an exhibit of colonial and Revolutionary items lent by the New Jersey Historical Society was displayed. On the day of the Battle, June 23, Springfield held a pageant, "The Miracle of Springfield," on the front lawn of the Jonathan Dayton Regional High School, and that weekend the ceremonies were concluded with a parade on the 25th and the dedication of a monument on the bank of the Rahway River on the 26th.

Meanwhile, in nearby Elizabeth, Boxwood Hall, the old Elias Boudinot mansion at 1073 Jersey Street, has been one of the focal points for that city's centennial celebration. As reported in the April issue of the PROCEEDINGS, the house, now owned and administered by the State Department of Conservation and Economic Development, had its first large reception of the year on February 20, with a Washington's Birthday program and a reception following the centennial celebration of Elizabeth held in the stately old home on Sunday, March 27th, with more than six hundred guests attending. Conservation Commissioner Joseph E. McLean was among the program speakers. The Union County Bar Association gave a nod of recognition to the early patriot and statesman when its members gathered for a reception at the Boudinot house, April 28th, preceding their dinner meeting. On May 20, thirty-four Girl Scouts received "homemaker awards" in the house once famous for its hospitality. Members of the Boudinot Chapter, D.A.R., were hostesses to the young people. "Bouquets for Boxwood" was the theme of a two-day flower show May 25 and 26 at the Boudinot mansion. The Elizabeth Garden Club sponsored the affair and arranged for a fashion parade of costumes of the colonial period, special room displays and competing entries "from great grandmother's garden." Furnishings for some rooms were provided by Garden Club members, and the historic collection of the Union County Historical Society was placed on indefinite loan at Boxwood.

A friendly home industry has helped to spread the word of Elizabeth's historic anniversary. Esso Standard Oil, with offices in both Elizabeth and New York City, arranged historical displays for two of its windows in Radio City. Military equipment of the Revolutionary War period was a particular eye-catcher for men viewers. Among the state-owned items provided for the exhibit were cannon balls, powder horn, bullet pouch, rifles, and sword.

As usual, in June, Boxwood Hall featured exhibits and displays associated with the Fighting Parson, Reverend James Caldwell. The Elizabeth preacher and army chaplain was a long-time friend of Elias and Hannah Boudinot and his funeral services were held at Boxwood with Boudinot reading a eulogy. Caldwell's regular church was the First Presbyterian in Elizabethtown. He and his wife lie buried in the cemetery adjoining that church.

The Hunterdon County Historical Society, which experienced a

rebirth last fall, held an unusually interesting meeting on May 21 when former Flemington Mayor John F. Schenk gave a talk on Hunterdon County's five best known early clockmakers—John Laache, Thomas Williams, George Rea, Richard Hooley, and Joakim Hill, who worked during a period when Hunterdon's population surpassed that of New York City and with Burlington ranked first in the state. He stated he was anxious to hear of the locations of examples of Flemington clocks. Hiram E. Deats, member of the Board of the New Jersey Historical Society and secretary of the Hunterdon Society, is conducting a "kindergarten" for persons interested in research on family and local history.

Several societies have held elections during the spring. Albert F. Carpenter, dean of Fairleigh Dickinson College in Teaneck, was elected president of the Bergen County Historical Society at its annual meeting, at which W. S. Davis, retiring president, announced the erection on property adjacent to the Steuben House and owned by the Society of a red barn originally presented to the Society and now housing farm implements from Bergen County homes.

The Paramus Historical and Preservation Society elected Floyd Tremper to the presidency, succeeding Mrs. Rosa A. Livingston, at its annual meeting attended by over one hundred in the converted one-room school house which they have taken over as their headquarters.

At the annual meeting of the Burlington County Historical Society, which did not include the election of a president this year, the main event was an address by Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., associate editor of the papers of Benjamin Franklin and research associate professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania. His topic was "Benjamin Franklin, Man of Letters," in which he described the vicissitudes through which Franklin's surviving papers have passed—including war, looting, fires, house cleanings, and carelessness by those to whom they had been entrusted.

Apparently a new historical society has been added to our New Jersey roster. It is the Twin Light Historical Society, Inc., which with the Highlands Twin Light Commission has been restoring the famous Twin Light of Navesink Highlands as an historic monument, museum, and park. June 25th was set as opening day (although this had not been verified at publication time) and to mark the event one thousand philatelic cacheted covers were printed with a picture of the famous light.

A research project is under way at the Basking Ridge Historical Society. The project, conducted by William L. Scheuerman, Jr., stresses history of the locality and the collection of archival material on such subjects as early railroading on the Passaic and Delaware Branch of the D.L. & W., old fourth of July celebrations, early Methodism in Basking Ridge, Bernards Township Negro slaves, and Basking Ridge Classical School.

The Museum Committee of the Nutley Historical Society held an

exhibit on "History of Transportation" for the month of May at the Museum Building. Through co-operation of the members of the New Jersey Museums Council, many articles of interest were secured. Miss Ann Troy directed the exhibit, which included ship models of the Vikings, boats from Bolivia, Ceylon, China, India, and Japan, primitive ox carts, covered wagons, a Fitch steamboat model, sleds, snow shoes, and a bronze plaque commemorating Lindbergh's flight of May 20, 1927.

In the April issue of the PROCEEDINGS we told of the purchase of the Kingsland-Kettel house in Rutherford by Fairleigh Dickinson College, which thereby saved this seventeenth-century dwelling from destruction. There is a sequel to the story in the form of an announcement made by the college two weeks ago which stated that another old Rutherford structure, the Ackerman house, had been acquired by them and is to be moved stone by stone from its present location on the property of Becton-Dickinson & Company to land adjoining the Kingsland-Kettel property, thus forming what the college feels is one of the most important historic groupings in this area. The Ackerman house is in the Dutch tradition with English influences and a part of the house dates back to the early 1700's.

Its acquisition by the college was made possible through the generosity of Becton-Dickinson & Company whose president, Fairleigh Dickinson, Jr., decided to make the gift following a decision by the college to restore the Kingsland-Kettel house.

Rutgers University Library continues to collect amazing amounts of manuscript records relating to New Jersey. A partial listing of their recent acquisitions follows:

Cranbury Vigilant Society records, 1901-47

Ogden Smith papers, Elizabethport and Somerville, 1827-62; 186 items

Thomas N. Stanford papers, New York, 1810-34; 1 box. Chiefly letters, 1831-57, from Rev. James Chapman, rector of St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy

James Chapman papers, Perth Amboy, 1817-65; 1 box

Hunterdon County freeholders' list, 1741

William Little general store account books, 1816-52; also account books of sloop freighting, carting, etc., of Hiers, Mains & Co., etc., 1818-53. Both of Middletown Point (Matawan); total about two dozen volumes

Jacob W. Dernberger papers, Oxford and Washington townships, Warren County, 1838-78; 2 boxes. Largely letters received, many from emigrant Jerseymen in Western states; also papers concerning Oxford Furnace, among them a quantity of Charles Scranton correspondence on Oxford Furnace business

Van Neste & Van Liew, Millstone, general store ledger, 1772-90

Elmer T. Hutchinson, notes on the history of Mormonism, taverns, potteries, etc., in New Jersey; 2 boxes

Elizabeth Town Female Humane Society, minutes, 1810-29

John Chetwood receipt book, Elizabeth, 1784-86

Franz M. Schneeweiss papers, 1849-88; 1 box. Letters received, documents, etc., of Austrian Forty-eighter, who came to New Brunswick

Joseph Warren Scott papers, *c.*1720-*c.*1870; 9 boxes. Legal and other papers of New Brunswick lawyer

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: 34 albums and bundles of photocopies of reports, letters, etc., from representatives of the Society in 18th-century New Jersey, relating to Anglican church business, education, and conditions generally within the Colony. Also included in the 34 are modern notes, drafts, etc., of Dr. Nelson R. Burr, concerning the Anglican church in New Jersey, prepared in connection with his recent book on that subject

Rivaling the manuscript acquisitions in importance are the microfilming projects recently undertaken. A master file of the *Brunswick Gazette,* 1786-92, was made, bringing together all known issues of the paper, including unique issues in the New Jersey Historical Society library. In addition, the following New Jersey church records were copied in toto to about 1900, film copies of which are available to other libraries:

Kingston Presbyterian, from 1791
Montville Reformed, from 1774
Cranbury, First Presbyterian, from 1745
Cranbury, Second Presbyterian, 1838-1935
Scotch Plains Baptist, from 1747
Parsippany Presbyterian, from 1745 (practical date, however, is 1828)
Spotswood, St. Peter's (Episcopalian), from 1761 (practical date about 1806)
Delaware (N.J.), St. James (Episcopalian), from 1769. Not yet completed.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

William E. Drost of 372 White Street, Orange, is working on a biography of Aaron Dodd Crane, New Jersey clockmaker, inventor.

Sister M. Regina of Caldwell College, Caldwell, N.J., who is writing as her doctor's thesis a history of the New Jersey Historical Society, would like to hear from anyone who can contribute reminiscences or experiences gained in his association with this society.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

THE New Jersey volume of the American Guide Series has been reissued! This welcome news comes from Hastings House Publishers of New York. Long missing from booksellers' shelves, the reprint, which includes a new map of New Jersey, sells for six dollars. Even without revision, *New Jersey, a Guide to Its Present and Past* is still an essential item in anyone's library of Jerseyana.

Genealogists will welcome the announcement that Harold Sonn's "New Jersey Family Index" is to appear as a supplement to the October 1955 number of the *New Jersey Genesis*. This index includes an alphabetical listing of New Jersey family names, the names and addresses of genealogists interested in New Jersey families, and a list by counties of professional researchers in genealogy. Subscribers to *New Jersey Genesis* may receive the "New Jersey Family Index" for one dollar; the price to non-subscribers is two dollars. Magazine and index are published in Short Hills, New Jersey.

The New Jersey State Society, Daughters of the American Colonists, announces the coming publication of a short history of the Society (forty-eight pages). This will be available at one dollar a copy, from Helen M. Wright, 161 Harrison Avenue, Jersey City 4.

REVIEWS

No one is more keenly aware of the need for attractive and authentic histories of New Jersey business and industry than John T. Cunningham who reviews *Life at Tung-Sol*. An active member of this society, Mr. Cunningham is the author of two books, *This is New Jersey* and *Made in New Jersey*, and of a recent *Newark News* series on New Jersey agriculture, soon to appear in book form.

Miriam Ogden Ball is a logical reviewer for Burr's *Anglican Church in New Jersey*, for her father Sydney Ogden was related to Josiah Ogden, founder of Trinity Church, Newark, and to the Reverend Uzal Ogden, elected but never installed as first bishop of New Jersey. Mrs. Ball is senior reference librarian in the New Jersey Division of the Newark Public Library.

Julia Sabine, Ph.D., brings a special interest to the reviewing of *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799,* for she has done research and writing on New Jersey silversmiths, and on books and libraries in New Jersey. She is Principal Art Librarian in the Newark Public Library.

Life at Tung-Sol, 1904-1954: an Informal Story of the First Half-Century of Tung-Sol Electric, Inc. By Robert Keith Leavitt. Newark: Tung-Sol Electric, Inc., 1954. 59 pages.

Refreshing is the word for this handsome portrait of Tung-Sol, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of one of the nation's leading manufacturers of miniature lamps and electronic tubes. The book is literally LIFE-size, since it takes both size and format from the weekly picture magazine. The format is refreshing in itself; equally refreshing is the fact that another company has bothered to take a look at its past. As this reviewer knows from intimate experience, far too few companies bother to tell their histories.

The story of Tung-Sol is a New Jersey story throughout. Harvey W. Harper, the founder (and present chairman of the board), was a part-time organist in Metuchen when a choir singer noticed his roughened and battered hands. The singer urged Harper to quit his heavy work on a railroad, helped him get a job in Thomas A. Edison's incandescent lamp works in Harrison.

Young Harper quit his Harrison job in 1904 and helped found Howard Miniature Lamp Company in New York City. Even that shift across the Hudson had a New Jersey overtone: Harper borrowed four thousand dollars from the Essex County National Bank to put up his share of the business.

That, approximately, is where Robert Keith Leavitt takes typewriter in hand and unfolds the story of Harvey W. Harper and his associates of fifty years. Leavitt does his job well—in LIFE style, naturally, but who can quarrel with that?

Life at Tung-Sol revolves around the meeting of Harper and Louis Rieben in 1904, when Rieben came to look for a job at Howard. From that beginning, through good times and bad, Harper and Rieben stayed together (Rieben is today president of the company). The little Canal Street company made miniature lamps (flashlight bulbs, Christmas tree lights, "candelabra" lights, etc.). It took any order—fifty lamps, twenty-five lamps, two lamps, even one lamp.

In 1906 Harper, Rieben and their slowly growing Howard Miniature Lamp Company were back in New Jersey, at a three-story building in Academy Street, Newark. Harper quickly recognized the importance of making lamps for automobile headlights and on that recognition the company grew. General Electric, holder of tungsten rights, forced Howard out of business in 1915. Quickly he was back in action in Weehawken, in the Independent Lamp & Wire Company. There he coined Tung-Sol ("tung"

for tungsten, "sol" as the Latin word for sun).

The company grew—through automobile headlamps, through early radio tubes, through World War II demands for electronic tubes, through the amazing post-war demand for electronic devices. Business has risen from sales of three million dollars in 1938 to more than forty million today.

All of this is told in rapid-moving prose by Leavitt. He portrays Harper in terms not always completely flattering to the boss (again refreshing since the boss's company paid for the work). Other company officials emerge as living, breathing personalities. That's to be expected, in a way; company histories have a way of telling who the brass are and how they work.

That's where Leavitt and *Life at Tung-Sol* break with tradition. Leavitt tells also the stories of many workers in Tung-Sol plants—the people who do the fatiguing, often exasperating labor which eventually is translated into company dividends. For this he is to be congratulated—and so, for that matter, is the Tung-Sol brass which recognized that company personnel stretches far beyond the front office.

Life at Tung-Sol is a splendid accomplishment in every way. It's factual, it's human, it's interesting. The illustrations, photographs by Gene Dauber (whose work bears unmistakeable LIFE signs), add greatly to the book. This is a company history of which Tung-Sol can be proud, and a company history which outsiders can read with pleasure.—JOHN T. CUNNINGHAM.

The Anglican Church in New Jersey. By NELSON ROLLIN BURR. Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1954. 768 pages; illus., maps.

Churches and schools were so closely allied in the colonial history of America that it seems logical to find histories on both subjects written by the same author. Dr. Burr's *Anglican Church in New Jersey* has profitted by the research done for his earlier volume *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871*. Both histories deal with the same period of time and with many of the same personalities, for minister and schoolmaster were often the same man. Too much church history has been written by clergymen and for clergymen. Dr. Burr is an historian, a professor and a librarian but not a clergyman, and his book—768 pages, including historical sketches of churches, clerical biographies, bibliographies, maps, notes and an excellent index—is straight history. It is also the reference worker's dream come true, for separate chapters deal with such vital subjects as the S. P. G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts); the "great awakening," that international revival movement that swept the colonies in the early 1700's; the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, the forerunner of our present-day contributory pensions; early church conventions; the birth of the Methodist Church in America; and the struggle to establish a colonial episcopacy, that contributed to such an extent in bringing about the Revolution.

In addition to the table of contents, there are appendices which comprise more than a third of the book — and include historical sketches of surviving and extinct parishes, the clergymen who served in them, a list of the places served by the missionaries, accompanied by a map; general and special bibliographies and nearly fifty pages of note references. The statistical tables of church members and communicants with sources reach back to 1790 (not fully complete, of course) and will save many a dreary hour of compilation for the individual reference need.

This is only the initial volume of a planned series on the history of the Episcopal Church in New Jersey, although probably the most important. It spreads a wide background of colonial history against which is pinpointed the battle of the many religious sects for the souls of the colonists. The Anglican Church was late in sending out missionaries to the new world and when in 1701 George Keith and John Talbot began their ministry it was in a land in which other men had already created a religious atmosphere predominantly evangelistic. Since the Episcopal Church has always had a liturgical rather than "popular" form of worship, it made slow progress. There seems to have been a certain amount of co-operation and goodwill among the other sects but it was mostly in a mutual opposition to the Anglicans. This opposition increased when revivalism rolled over America in the movement known as the "Great Awakening" from which the Anglicans generally held aloof, although from their ranks came probably the most famous religious orator of his day, George Whitefield, a colonial "Billy Graham."

This upheaval once past, there was a period of peace and progress, when churches were built and schools started, giving free instruction, secular as well as religious, to slaves, apprentices, Negroes, and the very poor. These early parochial schools formed a pattern of common, non-segregated education on which our present public schools were modelled. It was during this period that the reader is given Dr. Burr's vivid picture of colonial life in his portrayal of those men who came out from England, eager to "spread the Gospel in Foreign Parts." They were a courageous lot, a few not quite strong enough to make the grade, but most of them of amazing vitality, able to live under appalling hardships and to count the meager results of their toil as ample reward. Ill health seemed to plague many of them, their missions were wide in extent, their pay small, with housing and support for their families uncertain. Yet in their letters from which Dr. Burr quotes freely they boasted of such achievements as the "baptism of 97 infants and 4 adults" in one year. Mention is made, too, of the laymen who contributed time and money to further the work of the church and helped to form that permanent institution of the Episcopal Church, the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen, now the Church Pension Fund. Reading the rules of

this corporation, one is amazed at the similarity to current pension plans. They were much less complicated, of course, but would seem to be actuarily sound. The system has withstood years of financial ups and downs and remains a lasting achievement of the early church.

Through these years a reforming movement, stemming from the "Great Awakening," had been growing within the church. Another great evangelist, Francis Asbury, brought Methodism to America shortly after 1770 and, aided by many sympathetic missionaries of whom Uzal Ogden was the most prominent New Jerseyan, it finally succeeded in bringing about a major separation within the church, although it was not until 1784 that the Methodist Episcopal Church was actually organized as a new American denomination.

Meanwhile the clouds of the Revolution were beginning to roll in and the church was torn by political excitement. The Anglican plan to establish a colonial episcopate had always been feared by the other sects and even by some Episcopalians themselves, for in England the bishops held civil as well as religious authority and Americans wanted none of it. The missionaries, whose religious vows had included loyalty to King and to bishop were in a dilemma as the fateful decision became imminent. In the end the majority held to their vows and the resulting cleavage in their ranks almost wiped out the entire church. In all of New Jersey, only five chose to remain in America, all but two of them so suspect that their value to the church was practically nil. Abraham Beach and Uzal Ogden alone seemed to have withstood the ordeal, although Ogden was not completely cleared, as evidenced by his final rejection as first Bishop of New Jersey, in spite of confirmation by two succeeding conventions. These two were prominent New Jerseyans among those who were largely instrumental in bringing about the General Constitution of the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America" with its historic decision to include the laity "as a coordinate branch of the deliberative and executive assemblies of the church."

All official connection with the church of England was broken by the Revolution and without a resident bishop the church in America was rudderless. Yet it took more than ten years and seven conventions of the clergy before, in 1790, the Scottish ordination of Bishop Samuel J. Seabury, Jr. (whose long ministry began in New Jersey), was acknowledged. He became the first Bishop of America and church unity seemed assured. It took another twenty-five years before, after many disagreements, New Jersey became the ninth state to receive its own bishop—John Croes.

This, roughly, is Dr. Burr's record of the Anglican Church in America and, more specifically, in New Jersey.

As a permanent record of the events leading up to the establishment of the Episcopal Church, it seems to this reviewer that the book will be of great value for a long time. It is not as easy to predict how

popular it will be among the clergy. Dr. Burr's literary style flows smoothly and easily, but the frequent quotations from letters of the missionaries at times tend to blur the continuity of the narrative. The occasional use of contemporary slang phrases is unfortunate. At present they serve to bring out the writer's ideas vividly but in another few decades, they may have to be translated to the reader. There is nothing of the religious tract about the text and the mistakes of S.P.G. and the individual clergy are not slurred over.

To this reviewer, whose knowledge of church history was absorbed in a church school staffed by the sisters of an English order from a tome which was very heavy and very, very dull, a textbook of this type is a surprise and a delight. A copy will shortly be on its way to a tiny mission in the Northwest whose young leader, still a theological student, is a direct descendant of one of those early missionaries so sympathetically portrayed by Dr. Burr.—MIRIAM O. BALL.

The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799. By RITA S. GOTTESMAN. (Collections of the New-York Historical Society, Volume LXXXI.) New York: The Society, 1954. 484 pages, including index.

Ever since historians discovered the value of the contemporary account of life in the early newspapers, the files of those journals have yielded more and more information. Social, political, military, diplomatic, and cultural histories have made use of this inexhaustible source of material. As the foundation on which later histories can be written or as fascinating reading in themselves, compilations of newspaper advertisements or news notes on a general topic can be a boon to the student, the teacher, or the historian. Among books of this kind are to be found, George F. Dow's *Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775* (1927); Alfred Coxe Prime's *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785* and *1786-1800* (1929 and 1932); Rita S. Gottesman's *Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776* (Collections of the New-York Historical Society, LXIX, 1938).

Latest in this tradition is Mrs. Gottesman's supplement to her earlier volume, carrying the research up to 1799. It continues the painstaking work of compiling the advertisements, news notes, and any other pertinent information to be found in a prodigious number of newspapers during this period, regardless of whether the information is related to New York or not.

Since this volume covers the period of the Revolution and the early Federal period, a great deal of light is shed on the activities of the craftsmen who were loyalists or clung to the patriot cause. For example, some of the people listed announce their departure from New York to Canada, or others announce the opening of a shop after several years of "exile."

No doubt a profound historical

truth can be surmised from the shifts and changes which are reflected in the tables of contents in Mrs. Gottesman's two volumes. In both volumes the material is grouped under several different subjects. The new book has a section devoted to "ships and boats"; in the first volume, this material was found under "miscellaneous trades and occupations." The first volume has a section under "stonecutters," the later has absorbed this under "builders and building." The earlier volume has enough items to warrant a separate category of "glass," the later one has "china, earthenware and glass" and has dropped the category of "porcelain." Otherwise the subjects are: painting and engraving; silver and jewelry; pewter; furniture; clocks and watches; metal workers and ironworks; paper manufacturers, printers and bookbinders; fabrics and needlework; costume; painting and glazing; coach makers and coaches; music and musical instruments; exhibits, waxworks and novelties (the earlier volume also has "moving pictures"). There are naturally differences in the number of items quoted. The category "miscellaneous trades and occupations" is full of amazing information and makes for highly diverting reading.

Each volume has a special listing of references to typical advertisements with illustrations of the various crafts. This is an unusually useful index to the research worker who needs inconographic documentation.

All users of this book will be forever indebted to Mr. David Wallace who made the careful index to the book. Those interested in New Jersey will be delighted to find forty-nine entries under "New Jersey," and twenty-nine cross-references to other headings bearing on the arts and crafts in this state. Also by finding proper names in this index, the research worker can often trace the moves of a New Jersey craftsman. For example, Daniel Van Voorhis who made some silver in New Jersey, is found to have opened a shop in New York City, and to have made several changes in partnership, until his son joined him in 1798. Other New Jersey names can be found in this book, and a few more pieces of information about the craftsmen of this state can be added to our knowledge of New Jersey history.

People who have any but the most superficial interest in the early history of our country will find both of Mrs. Gottesman's collections storehouses of information. Now that this has been done for Philadelphia by Mr. Prime, and for New York by Mrs. Gottesman, would it not be good if a similar work could be done for New Jersey itself?—JULIA SABINE.

Walt Whitman Foundation Bulletin: a Special Number Commemorating the Centenary of the First Edition of His Leaves of Grass. Volume VIII, number 2, April 1955. Camden, N.J.: Walt Whitman Foundation, 1955. 68 pages. Single copies $1.00.

There is much of special New Jer-

sey interest in this anniversary publication. A twenty-five-page bibliography includes books and magazine articles about Whitman editions, translations, and reprints of his works, and bibliographies, all published in the last ten years. This is by Professor Gay Wilson Allen and Mrs. Allen of Oradell, N.J. Ralph W. Westcott, professor emeritus of law, Rutgers University, contributes a biographical sketch of Horace L. Traubel, Whitman's neighbor in Camden, author of four published volumes of notes on conversations with the poet, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*. This sketch includes a brief history of the Walt Whitman Foundation, of which Professor Westcott was one of the earliest members.

This special centenary number of the *Walt Whitman Bulletin* is being distributed widely to public and university libraries. The edition is small; and unless many requests are promptly received, there will be no second printing.—M.V.S.

PAMPHLETS

From the Friends of the John Dickinson Mansion, Inc., comes a well-printed pamphlet, *The House on Jones Neck, the Dickinson Mansion,* by J. H. Powell (Dover, Delaware, 1954; price fifty cents). Interesting to us as the birthplace of General Philemon Dickinson of New Jersey, this historic house is well described by Dr. Powell. A map and driving directions from Wilmington and Dover, Delaware, are included.

The Battle of Springfield, and Its Importance in the War for Independence, June 1780. By M. C. Diedrich. (Springfield, N.J.: The Springfield Historical Society, 1955. 32 pages. (Price $1.00.) Outstanding format and illustration, with clear maps, and well-written, informative text.

Bicentennial Anniversary of the Organization of the Parsippany Presbyterian Church, 1755-1955. By the Bicentennial Committee. (Parsippany-Troy Hills, N.J. 1955. 8 pages.) Program.

The First Presbyterian Church, Phillipsburg, New Jersey, Centennial Program and History. (Phillipsburg, 1953. 19 pages.) Illustrated.

Organization and Functions of the Departments in New Jersey State Government. By Heinz H. Seelbach. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1955. 55 pages.) History, development, and present department set-up, with emphasis on changes since 1947 constitution revision, reprinted from *New Jersey Statutes Annotated,* Titles 49-52.

Origins of New Jersey Municipal Government. By Stanley H. Friedelbaum. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Bureau of Government Research, 1955. 10 pages.) Reprint from Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, January 1955.

Parsippany Presbyterian Parish History, 1755-1955. By Estelle T. Condit. (Parsippany-Troy Hills, 1955. 81 pages. Price $1.50.)

Strong human interest, and fruitful use of source material in an anniversary publication. Excellent photographic illustrations.

Our New Jersey Land. By Granville A. Quackenbush. (New Brunswick, N.J.: New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, 1955. 75 pages.) This bulletin (No. 775) may be ordered from Bulletin Clerk, New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station, Rutgers University. Companion publication, a 14-by-24-inch map of "Land Type Areas in New Jersey" is available (single copies free, in quantity ten cents a copy). Both map and bulletin present New Jersey soil types and characteristics in detail.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS

"Restoration Villages" are the subject of the entire May 1955 issue of *Art in America,* which, although it contains little about New Jersey, should be of interest to members of New Jersey historical societies. Featured are Shurburne Museum, Colonial Williamsburg, Old Sturbridge Village, the Farmer's Museum at Cooperstown, Old Deerfield, and Mystic Seaport. A map and checklist of restoration villages give information helpful to tourists, but, sad to say, New Jersey is represented only by the following, "Allaire, proposed restoration of a bog-iron community, planned as a state project." Need we say more?

In March 1955 appeared the first issue of a unique publication, *Historical Abstracts, 1775-1945.* This quarterly covers the entire world and abstracts articles in all languages, so that the amount of space devoted to American local history must necessarily be small. However, a check of a sample issue received at the Newark Library has brought out several articles of New Jersey interest that would otherwise have escaped notice. Most challenging is the abstract of an article in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* for 1954, by Mark Bortman. Entitled "Paul Revere and Son and their Jewish Correspondents," it describes the Reveres as pioneers in the copper rolling industry and mentions as their purchasing agent Solomon Isaacs, who was one of the founders of the Hendricks' Copper Rolling Mills at Soho, now Belleville, N.J. This phase of American Jewish history and New Jersey industrial history deserves further exploration.

The *Historical Abstracts,* published under the guidance of an international advisory board, and covering all phases of history, will eventually cover some six hundred periodicals. It is however, costly, so that only scholarly libraries will be likely to have it.

HISTORY AND GENEALOGY

"Ballad of 'Brave Paulding and the Spy' in the Ramapo Valley," by Anne Lutz, in *Journal of American Folklore,* Winter 1954, pp. 279-84.

"The [Camden & Amboy] Railroad in the New Jersey Election of 1850," by George A. Reilly, in

Seton Review, Sept. 1952, pp. 15-25.

"Cities of New Jersey: the Caldwells," by Robert Yard, in *New Jersey Bell,* March 1955, pp. 2-8.

"Cortlandt Van Rensselaer: Progressive Conservative," by Maurice W. Armstrong, in *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society, December 1954, pp. 213-39.

"The Dutch in New Jersey," by Audubon R. Davis, in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1954, pp. 1-3.

"The Early Mormons of New Jersey," by A. William Lund, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1955, pp. 56-58.

"The Early Quakers of New Jersey," by Audubon R. Davis, in *New Jersey Genesis,* January 1955, pp. 44-47.

"Ebenezer Hazard, America's First Historical Editor," by Fred Shelley, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* January 1955, pp. 44-73.

"1875 Exhibit to Kick Off Pru's 80th Anniversary," in *Pru News,* January 21, 1955, p. 1.

"First Presbyterian Church, Orange, N.J., 1719-1954," in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1954, p. 12.

"Gilbert Livingston and Some of his Descendants," by George B. Kinkead, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* October 1954, pp. 230-39. Continuation. Includes Newark families.

"Henry Conover; Sitter, Not Artist," by Irwin F. Cortelyou, in *Antiques,* December 1954, p. 481. More information on pastels by Williams, described in *Antiques,* August 1954.

"How to Search 'County Records' in New Jersey," by George Kolb, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1955, pp. 61, 65.

"Isaac Sanford," by Newton C. Brainard, in Connecticut Historical Society *Bulletin,* October 1954, p. 122.

"Jersey 'Prisoners of War in 1780' and Their Tribulations," in *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1954, pp. 10, 11.

"Joseph Wright, First Draughtsman and Die-Sinker to the United States Mint," by Georgia S. Chamberlain, in *Numismatist,* December 1954, pp. 1282-87. Son of the Bordentown portrait artist, Patience Lovell Wright.

"The New Jersey Historical Society," by Jane G. Richardson, in *New Jersey Genesis,* January 1955, pp. 1, 44.

"N.J. Historical Society Display to Show Family Life in 1875," in *Pru News,* January 21, 1955, pp. 1-3.

"New Jersey State Museum, a History of Service," by Kathryn B. Greywacz, in *State Government,* February 1955, pp. 44, 45, 51.

"An Old Contract for Care & Maintenance of 'Bethlehem Church,' Now Known as Newstone Presbyterian Church, Located at Grandin, N.J., nr. Clinton, Hunterdon County, Date Mar. 1, 1827," in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1955, p. 64.

"Old Trinity (Episcopal) Newark, N.J.," in *New Jersey Genesis,* January 1955, pp. 48-49.

"Origins of New Jersey Municipal Government," by Stanley H. Friedelbaum, in *New Jersey*

Municipalities, November 1954, pp. 11-15.

"Passaic Library Gets Historic Collection," by Marian C. Butterworth, in *De Halve Maen,* April 1955, pp. 7, 13. Julius Forstmann Library exhibits Herbert Fisher's collection of drawings on "The Old Dutch Houses Landmarks and Families of Acquackanonk."

"Princeton's Mason and Dixon Map," by Thomas W. Streeter, in *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* Winter 1953, pp. 97-99.

"Quaker Meetings in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Genesis,* January 1955, p. 47.

"Rutgers Museum Shows How Our Fathers Farmed," in *Report from Rutgers,* September 1954, p. 1.

"Schumann-Heink, 'Last of the Titan's, Began Her Farewell Tour and Made Last Appearance in East in N.J., Starting Hollywood Career at Time of Death," by Dorothy Rowe, in *New Jersey Music and Arts,* January 1955, pp. 7, 8, 32.

"Stephens and Caskey Daybook, Stephensburg, N.J., 1832-3," in the *New Jersey Genesis,* October 1954, p. 8. List of names from account books presented to N.J. Historical Society.

"To Searchers of Cemetery Records," in *New Jersey Genesis,* January 1955, p. 47.

"To the Searchers of N.J. Records," in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1955, p. 62.

"Washington Again Crosses the Delaware!" in *New Jersey Bell,* February 1955, pp. 28, 29. Washington Crossing Park Commission sponsors re-enactment of bold colonial maneuver.

"Yesteryear in New Jersey, Links with Lincoln," in *New Jersey Business,* March 1955, p. 6.

"Zion's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Spruce Run, N.J., 1775-1955," in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1955, p. 64.

NEW JERSEY'S LEADERS

"Elizabeth C. White; Pioneered Development of the Blueberry, Member of New Lisbon Board," in *Welfare Reporter,* January 1955, p. 8. Obituary of New Jersey's "Blueberry Queen."

"Farewell to Bob Buntain, Superintendent of the Rockport Game Farm Retires—Started with the State in 1912," in *New Jersey Outdoors,* February 1955, pp. 12 *ff.*

"Fred Craig Retires as Chief Warden, William P. Coffin Successor in Top Warden Supervisory Office," in *New Jersey Outdoors,* March 1955, pp. 24-26.

"From Newsboy to Governor," by Robert B. Meyner, in *American Magazine,* April 1955, p. 35-37 *ff.*

"Hugh N. Boyd Succeeds Late Uncle as Publisher and Company President," in *Jersey Publisher,* March 1955, p. 13. New Brunswick *Home News,* formerly headed by Elmer Boyd.

"Jersey Planners, Doctor Edward B. Wilkens of New Brunswick," in *Jersey Plans,* February 1955, p. 5.

"Memorial Services to Honor J. Spencer Smith," in *Shore and Beach,* October 1954, pp. 6-8.

"Mrs. Marie Carpenter," in *Psychogram,* March 1955, p. 3.

"N.J. Agriculture's Highest Honor —1955 Citation for Distinguished Service to William C. Spargo," in *New Jersey County Government,* February 1955, p. 22.

"Suburban Women in Key Metropolitan Posts: Mrs. Parker O. Griffith," in *Suburban Life,* March 1955, p. 6.

"A Testimonial to Walter O. Lochner," in *Trenton Magazine,* January 1955, pp. 3, 5-12. Retiring executive-secretary, Trenton Chamber of Commerce.

"Who's Who in Jersey Labor: Emanuel Hurst, Member of General Executive Council, N.J. State Federation of Labor," by Fred E. Ruslander, in *New Jersey Labor Herald,* February 1955, pp. 6, 11. Atlantic City musician.

"Who's Who in Jersey Labor: Marie M. Mooney, Executive Council Member, N.J. State Federation of Labor," by L.M.H., in *New Jersey Labor Herald,* December 1954, p. 8.

"Who's Who in Jersey Labor: R. Joseph Bruder," by Fred E. Ruslander, in *New Jersey Labor Herald,* January 1955, pp. 6, 12. President, Newark Teachers' Union.

"Who's Who in New Jersey Horticulture: Saluting Raymond J. Anderson of Bridgeboro," in *Horticultural News,* January 1955, pp. 2842, 2848.

"Who's Who in New Jersey Horticulture: Saluting Tunis G. Denise," in *Horticultural News,* February 1955, pp. 2862, 2875.

"Who's Who in New Jersey: Fred G. Stickel, III, Municipal Attorney, Cedar Grove and Roseland," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* January 1955, p. 4.

"The Work of the Legislative Committee of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities," by Thomas M. Kane, in *New Jersey Municipalities,* January 1955, pp. 35-36.

STATE AND LOCAL PROBLEMS

"Address of Commissioner Joseph E. McLean, in *New Jersey Recreation Development,* January 1955, pp. 1-5. Report on the present state of New Jersey's Park and Forest Program, outlines need for improvements and expansion.

"As We See It—Facts, Not Fancy —Municipalities Alone Cannot Solve the School Facilities Problem," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* January 1955, p. 5.

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Koos Bros. Furniture Company, 1953
National Newark and Essex Banking Company, 1955
National State Bank of Newark, 1955
New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, 1948
Newark News, 1951 (sustaining 1938-51)
Newark Public Library, 1949
Prudential Insurance Company, 1951
Public Service Electric and Gas Company, 1955
Puder & Puder, 1954
Reach, Yates & Mattoon, Inc., 1951

NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRON-WORK: Seibert Hall (1872), Bloomfield College and Seminary. (Photo: Ione M. Sonn.)